

Kalpasutra Painting from Khambhata
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JAIN THOUGHT AND CULTURE

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Published by
Department of History and Indian Culture,
University of Rajasthan,
JAIPUR–302004.

Rs. 50 00

Printed at .
The Rajasthan University Press,
Jaipur

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PREFACE

Of the diverse streams which together mingle and form the broad *Bhāgīrathī* of Indian Culture, the Jain stream is undoubtedly among the most ancient In the early post Vedic times the *Nirgranthas* were one of the many ascetic sects which flourished in northern India They trace their origin to a long line of ancient teachers going back to Ṛṣabha Nothing is known about the more ancient *Tīrathankaras* which could be relied upon as history. Nevertheless, Mahāvīra and his immediate predecessor have been accepted as historical They emphasize a world view which was clearly different form that of the *Vedas* and the *Upaniṣads* as far as their major emphasis is concerned In later years the Jain doctrine was further elaborated and in the early centuries of the Christian era systematic compendia were compiled The followers of the faith spread all over the country but remained a minority specially concentrated in Western India and in some places of the south

It has been said that the very virtues which have enabled Jainism to continue over thousands of years have prevented its spread all over the world and that in this respect Jainism contrasts strongly with Buddhism Buddhism underwent incessent adaptations and transformations. Jainism, on the other hand, has shown a remarkable tenacity in holding on to its ancient principles even at the expense of continuing to be restricted to a relatively smaller number of people In recent years there has been a renewed interest in Jain Studies It would indeed be welcome if this renewed interest were to win for Jain Studies a place it deserves in the curricula of higher education in the country The State Government has helped the University of Rajasthan to start a Centre of Jain Studies The Department of History and Indian Culture on the occasion of 2500th Anniversary of Lord Mahāvīra has brougut out monograph which is devoted entirely to Jain thought and culture This can only be treated as a beginning I hope this humble beginning, with the help of scholars and patrons, will lead to a richer fulfilment in due course of time

G C. Pande

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THE ROLE OF THE IDEA OF KRIYAVADA IN JAINA LOGIC

The earliest Jaina texts like the *Ayaramga, Uttarajjhayana* and *Suyagadamga* are marked by a strong emphasis on the notion of *Kriya* or willed action That man has freedom of will (*Purusakara Virya*) sufficient for working out his salvation was claimed almost as a distinctive feature of Jaina faith and contrasted with rival doctrines especially of the *Ajivakas* who presented an extreme contrast This dominant moral attitude continued as a persistent background in which alone some of the characteristic features of later, systematic Jaina philosophy can best be understood

Kriya has to be distinguished from *Karman* *Kriya* has its ultimate source in the inherent and inalienable power of the soul (*Jiva*) *Karman*, on the other hand, represents a subtle physical power which hinders, envelops and binds the soul One may describe *Kriya* as the activity of the soul, *Karman* as its passivity Moral and spiritual effort consists in repelling (*Samvara*) and expunging (*Nirjara*) the influence of matter by the force of will The heroic affirmation of the freedom of the soul over the imprisoning mould and world of matter is *Tapas* and it makes one ultimately Victor (*Jina*) Worthy(*Arhata*), and Self-sufficient (*Kevalin*)

The acceptance of the reality and crucial significance of 'action' has far-reaching philosophical implications Real action implies an acting person who changes and yet persists and a similar mutable but ordered world of other persons and things The being of things given in experience must be modifiable and hence imperfect and the nature of the soul moreover perfectible Multiplicity and change must be real by the side of identity and persistence Moreover, to

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make purposive action possible tentative and fragmentary knowledge, which is all we usually have in the contexts of practical urgency, must be held to have a definite though limited reliability and must be regarded as revealing real though partial aspects of things

The Jainas accepted and formulated these implications in the course of their philosophization Thus as early as the *Ayaramga* the *Nirgrantha* is declared to be a believer in the Soul, the world and Will (*Ayavai, loyavai, Kiriyavai*) The classic definition of reality "*Utpadavyaya-dhrauvyayuktam sat*" follows in this same directon, and the logical doctrines of *Anekanta, Naya* and *Syadvada* represent its culminating refinement

Jaina logic has often been misunderstood by its critics as implying a denial of the law of contradiction and hence as itself contradictory The point of Jaina Logic is philosophical viz , that the really genuine way in which a thinker should seek knowledge is not by creating a private or purely hypothetical world which achieves formal consistency by depending entirely on a process of arbitrary definition and the exclusion of empirical significance, but by remembering the complex and variable nature of reality and thus holding that every judgment about it where abstraction necessarily enters, is meaningful and true only under certain conditions Thought can't afford to become a Procrustean bed, especially when Reality is Protean This is the common assumption of scientific as well as historical thinking In illustrating the self-contradiction' of Jaina Lagic as 'Sitosnavat' Sankaracharya (Comm B S 2 2 33) has unwittingly shown its strength In experience, 'heat' and 'cold' are relative terms and by adopting two different standards the same thing can be described as 'hot' or 'cold' The great Vachaspati Misra realizing this weakness of the Master's illustration has to step outside empirical knowledge and adduce *Brahman* and *Prapancha* as examples of absolute being and non-being

Basically, rational thought seeks practically significant knowledge In understanding major philosophies the important thing is not to bring out their obvious mutual inconsistencies and serious inner inconsistencies which are either rare or only apparent due to an unavoidable 'sickness of language' or the application of a purely negative dialectic, but to discover the empirical and logical conditions which lend them plausibility and value

Different actual philosophies are thus seen to be true within different abstract worlds Thus we can have a Vedantic philosophy of Being or a Buddhist philosophy of Flux Jaina logic concedes to both a partial truth and is basically opposed to the separation of 'semantic' (and) 'syntactical' questions Alternatively, Jaina logic is like the concrete Hegelian dialectic which rests on the principle that 'tout comprendre C'est tout pardonner' Thus Being and Non-being and Becoming as the succession of Being and Non-being, Becoming as the unintelligible Union of Being and Non-being, illustrate the first four steps of the *Sapta-bhangi naya* *Svabhavavada* which accepts the unintelligible universe, *Sunyavada* which denies it and *Mayavada* which assigns to it a limited reality but a deeper unintelligibility, can be given as illustrations of the last three steps of the seven-fold logic

With an equal interest in the real process of change, while modern science turns to the measurement, correlation and control of physical phenomena, the Jainas turned to the analysis of the stages and means of the soul's bondage and liberation from physical phenomena Science leads to the manipulation of Nature through a physical mechanism , Jaina askesis (*tapas*) leads to freedom from mechanism

G S P MISRA*

SOME REFLECTIONS ON EARLY JAINA AND BUDDHIST MONACHISM

Introduction . Sramana Tradition and Jainism and Buddhism ·

The sixth century B C was an age of great ascetic upsurge under the influence of which a large number of people in the society were leaving their homes to adopt the life of homelessness [1] These homeless people were variously styled as *parivrajaka, bhiksu, sramana, yati, sannyasin* etc , the last term being of rare occurrence in the Buddhist and Jaina texts but very common for such people in the Brahmanical texts These people were religious wanderers but, for the attainment of a common spiritual goal, lived in organized communities, called *gana* or *samgha,* under a teacher who acted as the head of his community, he used to lay down the rules of conduct to be followed by its members Among these ascetic communities those styled as *Sramana* appear to have enjoyed a superior status [2] They were highly esteemed in the society and are frequently mentioned in juxtaposition with the Brahmanas in the form of 'Sramana-Brahmana' as constituting a rival community of spiritual leadership As opposed to the Brahmanas, who upheld the Vedic authority and the orthodox Vedic cultural and social outlook, the *Sramanas* represented

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1 *'Agarasma anagariyam pabbajati'* is the common phrase used in the Pali Buddhist Canon for such a person, e g , *Mahavagga* (Nalanda Edition, Ed Bhikkhu J Kashyap, Pali Publication Board, Bihar Government, 1956), pp 12, 18, 22, in *'Agarao anagariam pavvaiye'* the Jaina texts have exactly the same expression, e g , *Sthanangasutram* (Shri Akhil Bharat S S , Jaina Sastroddhara Samiti, Rajkot, 1964), Vol II, pp 332, 358

2 See my *The Age of Vinaya* (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1972), p 105, fn 1

a different stream of cultural outlook which rejected the authority of the *Veda,* denounced the Brahmanical class and caste division of the society and declared the worship of various gods and their appeasement through sacrifices futile A critical study of the available evidences makes it very clear that the origin of the Sramana tradition is anti-Vedic and pre-Vedic and is not derived from any Vedic model such as the *Brahmacarin,* the Brahmana *parivrajaka,* or the Brahmanical *sannyasin* [3] The *Sramana* tradition, however, did not represent a monolithic structure, the *Sramanas* themselves were divided into a number of sects, held different views (*ditthis*) on various issues and disputes were quite common among them [4] Jainism and Buddhism both are clearly the off-shoots of this *Sramana* tradition [5]

Common Features of the Ascetic Communities ·

It is thus clear that beside the sects of Mahavira and Buddha, many others were operating at this time, for the most part, within the same geographical area of the Kosala and Magadha dominions Apart from Buddha, Purana Kassappa, Makkhali Gosala, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kaccayana, Sanjaya Belatthaputta and Niganthanataputta are the six other contemporary teachers mentioned in

3 For different views on the origin of the *Sramana* see my *The Age of Vinaya* The one put forward by Jacobi (*Jaina Sutras,* S B E Series Part I, p xxxii), according to whom "the germ of dissenting sects like those of the Buddhists and the Jainas were contained in the institute of the fourth Asrama" which would trace it to the Brahmanical institution of the *Sannyasu Asrama,* has been ably controverted by S Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism* (Asia Publishing House, First Indian edition (Revised), 1960), pp 39 40 and G C Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (University of Allahabad, 1957), pp 321 22 These scholars cut Jacobi's theory at its root by pointing evidence to the effect that the fourth *Asrama* dates much later as an institution of the Aryan Bhahmanical society and that in the beginning the orthodox Brahmanical attitude was hostile to it

4 See *Digha Nikaya,* I, Suttanta I, *Jaina Sutras* (S B E Series), Vol II, pp 235-246, 405, 409 refer to a number of philosophic views entertained among the *Sramanas* and the Brahmanas In the 'Brahmajalasutta' of the *Digha Nikaya* the reference to 62 erroneous views (*micchaditthis*) point to different Sramanic shools, contra— N Dutt who observes, "The so called sixty two views are really a systematic exposition of the experiences of a Buddhist monk and have very little to do with the then existing non-Buddhist opinion", *Early Monastic Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1941), Vol I, p 42, fn 4 *Sutta Nipata* (Vs 83 84) gives a fourfold classification of the *Sramanas,* the same text (V 828) refers to their disputes *ete vivada samanesu jata*

5 Buddha himself is called *Mahasamana*', e g, *Mahavagga* (Nal ed) pp 26, 35, 42, and his followers '*sakyaputtiya samana*', see *Mahavagga* (Nal ed), pp 76 119, 373 Likewise the followers of Mahavira are referred to as '*niganthanama samanajatika*', see *Anguttara Nikaya* (Nal Ed , Ed , Bhikkhu J Kashyap, Pali Publication Board, Bihar Government, 1959) Vol I, p 190

the Pali Canon[6] Derived from the same genre and sharing a common ascetic philosophy and a general non-Vedic outlook, these sects were bound to have certain similarities in their institutional set up and working system Persons seeking for the truth gathered around such famous teachers and formed a community the members of which were bound together by an aspiration for a common goal and adoptation of a common way of life as prescribed by the teacher Such a religious and ascetic community was designated as *Samgha* or *Gana* and its head was called *samghi, gani* or *ganacariya* During the course of their long history, there ascetic communities had evolved certain common customs and institutions, some of which are said to have been borrowed by Buddha when he started his *Samgha*[7] Of these communities Jainism and Buddhism during the long course of their existence, were destined to influence and shape Indian history and culture in many ways and have survived till to-day These two operated within an elaborate and well-organized corporate structure to which, no doubt, must be attributed their strength and vitality[8]

Difference in the Nature of the Jaina and Buddhist Monastic Codes

The sect of the Jainas came into existence earlier than the Buddhist sect, the Jaina tradition traces its origin much beyond Mahavira, the historical founder of Jainism and a contemporary of Buddha, something which has withstood historical scrutiny and critical research[9] Nevertheless, the credit for providing its members with a distinct and well-codified text of monastic rules goes to the Buddhists The Jainas do not have a separate code such as the Pali *Vinaya* or other *Vinaya* versions of the different Buddhist sects, the *Vinaya* rules of the Jainas are found scattered in various texts and need

6 All mentioned together in *Cullavagga* (Nal Ed Ed Bhikkhu J Kashyap, Pali Publication Board, Bihar Government, 1956), p 199 For an account of their teachings see, Barua, *Pre Buddhist Indian Philosophy* (Calcutta, 1921) , G C Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (*Allahabad,* 1957) Ch IX, K N Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1963), Chs II and III, *The Age of Vinaya,* Ch, III

7 See my *The Age of Vinaya*, p 41

8 With regard to Buddhism Charles Eliot has remarked, "The great practical achievement of the Buddha was to found a religious Order which has lasted to the present day It is chiefly this institution that the permanence of his religion is due" *Hinduism and Buddhism* (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, London, 1954), Vol I, p 237 The same can be said about Jainism also

9 See *Indian Antiquary* Vol IX, 1880, p 162, Jacobi's introduction to *Jaina Sutras*, S B E Series, Vol 45, pp xiv-xv

the help of a modern researcher or writer for their organized and systematic presentation Another striking difference between the two sets of monastic rules is that whereas the Buddhist *Vinatay* races the formation of each rule to Buddha himself, enumerating all the details such as the occasion, the place and the person or persons involved, the Jainas do not appear bothered to follow any such fixed mode of articulation for their monastic rules

The Nature of Monastic Structure :

Both men and women addhering to the precepts of the two teachers' constitute the Church or Samgha as it has been called in the texts The Jainas, as a rule, divide their Order into four viz, *Bhikkhu-samgha, Bhikkhuni-samgha, Upasaka-samgha* and *Upasika-samgha* [10] The Jaina Samgha, thus, comprises not only the monks and nuns but also the male and female members of the laity In the Buddhist monastic set up the latter two are absent in this precise form and their theoretical position within the framework of the Order is not so clearly articulated [11]

The Buddhist Samgha appears to have been theoretically, divided into (1) *Sammukhibhuta Samgha* i e the local Samgha and (2) *Agatanagata catuddisa Samgha* i e the Samgha of all the ages and all the places or the Samgha in its idealized form which consisted of all the monks and nuns as adherents to the teachings of Buddha, including even those who would be embracing the fold of the Buddhist Order in future [12] Generally, the boundaries of an *avasa* were

10 E g *Shri Sthanangasutram* (Shri Akhil Bharat S S Jain Sastroddhara Samiti, Rajkot, 1965), Vol III *Cauvvihe samghe pannatte, tam jaha samana, samanio, savaga, saviyao*

11 However, there are, in the Buddhist texts, discourses pertaining to the life of lay disciples, and religious, moral and spiritual teachings especially devoted to the householders See, e g, *Muhavagga* (Nalanda ed), pp 309-10 where Buddha praises Visakha's liberality and speeks about the religious and spiritual benefit that accrues from it Likewise, Sigalovadsutta' in the *Digha Nikaya* is entirely devoted to the life of the laymen and their proper conduct

12 *Mahavagga* (Nal ed), p 319, *Cullavagga* (Nal ed), p 259
In an article 'The Notion of Early Buddhist Samgha' (*Jijnasa*, Vol I, Nos 1-2, p 30) S N Dube has remarked ' It seems to us that the difference between the Samgha and the *Cataddisa Samgha* is not that of real and ideal but that of the local and the universal Samgha i e the Buddhist Order in its entiretly which has spread far and wide by the third century B C " He points to various economic changes by the time of the Second Buddhist Council (acceptance of 'gold and silver' by the Vajjan monks) and their bearings on the Samgha life and general thinking and then takes into account (*Ibid* p 34) the Theravada position as contained in the *Kathavatthu* which "was diametrically opposed to such notions (i e the ideality of the Samgha) and it upheld the idea of Samgha merely as a body of individuals" His argument suffers from certain fallacies and confusions which the author himself has created (1) the

fixed the resident monks and nuns within which were considered to be forming a separate body, enjoying a common community life and observing their *uposatha* ceremony etc together,[13] the fixation of boundary was done on the basis of various natural objects like a hill, a stone, a forest, a tree, a route, an ant-hill, a river or a pond (*pabbatanimittam, pasananimittam, vananimittam, magganimittam, vamikanimittam, nadinimittam, udakanimittam*)[14] Violation of the fixed boundary (*sima*) for undue personal advantage was considered an offence, nor could there be another boundary within the fixed boundary But, ideally speaking a 'Sammukha Samgha' was only a part of the 'Catuddisa Samgha' and any member of the *Cullavagga* enumerates rules of etiquette to be observed by the incoming monks and the resident monks[15]

Apart from the one mentioned above, there was yet another division of the Buddhist Samgha which was functional in nature This division was fivefold based on the number of monks constituting the quorum fixed according to the requirements of a situation[16] A Samgha of four could engage in any activity barring *upasampada, pravarana* and *ahvana* (a punishment), a Samgha of five had to refrain from imposing *ahvana* and granting *upasampada* in the *Majjhima Janapada* i e the Uttara Pradesh and Bihar region (in other regions this could be done by a Samgha of five apparently because of the scarcity of monks there, whereas this was not a problem in the *Majjhima Janapada*), a Samgha of ten had to abstain from *ahavana* only whereas the last two Samghas of twenty or more than twenty members were eligible to deal with any matter

The functional division of the Jaina Samgha was along different lines The Samgha stood for the whole body of the adherents of the teaching of Mahavira which comprised the monks and nuns as

issue in question is not the difference between the Samgha and the *Catuddisa* Samgha' as the author has said but one between the *Sammukho Samgha* and *Catuddisa Samgha*, (2) that which is universal is not opposed to being abstract and ideal, (3) the author seems to imply that the notion and use of the term *Catuddisa Samgha* dates later than the economic changes belonging to the second Council and 3rd century B C, which, as he himself sees it, is not the case, (4) the very term '*anagata*' in the compound points to the Samgha as an idealized entity and not only as a body of individuals, at least in its early phase

13 *Mahavagga* (Nal ed), p 109

14 *Ibid*

15 *Cullavagga* (Nal ed) pp 311-315

16 *Panca samgha catuvaggo bhikkhusamgho pancavaggo bhikkhusamgho, dasavaggo bhikkhusamgho, visativaggo bhikkhusamgko, atirekavisativaggo bhikkhusamgho*

well as the male and female laymen[17] After this *gana* was the largest unit which has been explained by the commentators either as 'a group of monks having a common reading' (*Samanavacanakriyah sadhusamudayah*) or as 'a group of *Kulas*' (*Kulasamudayah*)[18] In this connection one has to bear in mind the fact that the eleven chief disciples of Mahavira were designated as *ganadharas* or the chiefs of the *ganas*, thus theoretically placing each *gana* under an eminent individual supposed to be proficient in the teaching and one of ideal conduct As Schrubing has remarked, "Their successors have propagated the teaching by branches and schools (*Saha* and *kula*) Hence the *gana* denotes both a coception regarding the history of the teaching and a technical term"[19] A monk continuously changing his *gana* has been condemned[20] *Kula* and *sambhoga* or *gaccha* were other functional units of the Church, the former explained by the commentator of the *Bhagavatisutra* as a group of disciples of a particular *acarya*,[21] while the latter, as explained by Jacobi,[22] was most probably a group of monks begging alms in one district only' These units appear to have been presided over by eminent *acarya* or *thera*

The difference between the two sects with regard to the division of the Samgha in terms of functional units derives from the ideal and pattern of Samgha administration adopted by the two Masters While Buddha preferred the abstract guidance of *dharma* to the tangible control by a leader and, in his admiration for the working of the republican states around him, had opted for a democratic pattern for his Samgha after his own death, Mahavira seems to have decided to continue with the time-honoured practice of choosing an individual successor or successors for the continuance of his teaching[23]

17 *Supra*

18 See S B Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism* (Poona, 1956), p 150

19 Walther Schrubing, *The Doctrine of the Jains*, translated from the revised German edition by Wolfgang Beurlen (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, 1962), p 252

20 *Jaina Sutras* Pt II p 79, the word used for such a monk is *ganaganika* which, according to the commendator, is one who attaches himself to another *gana* every half year For rules regarding a person leaving his teacher or *gaccha*, see *Sthananga*, *op cit*, Vol II, pp 99-100

21 S B Deo, *op cit*, p 151

22 Jacobi *Jaina Sutras*, *op cit*, Part I, p 167, fn 1

23 For details about the contemporary practice and Buddha's novelty in this respect see my *The Age of Vinaya*, pp 108-110

The functional division of the Jaina Samgha appears more as individual oriented

Monastic Hierarchy and Officials :
Developed Corporate Life in the Buddhist Samgha

As compared to the Jaina Order, the Buddhist Order appears to have been better organized and much more based on the ideas of a corporate life In order to have an efficient administration within the organization the Buddhist monastic code made provision for appointment of a number of monastic officials such as *samghabhatta* (ration-officer), *bhandagarika* (store-keeper), *civarabhajaka* (cloth-distributor), *satikagahapaka* (receiver of cloths), *samanerapesaka* (supervisor of the *Sramaneras*) and many others,[24] and, rules were laid down with regard to their election and their rights and duties were clearly specified Likewise, *ganapuraka* (officer in charge of the quorum), *salakagahapaka* (the collector of votes), *asanapannapaka* (officer who allocated seats) were the monastic officials who were responsible to look after the proper functioning of a business-meeting

Such an organized corporate life was missing in the Jaina Samgha The Jaina texts, too, mention a good number of monastic positions such as those of *seha* (disciple) *thera* (monk), *uvajjhaya* (skt *Upadhayaya*, chief instructor), *ayariyauvajjhaya, pavatti* (Skt *pravartin*), *gani* (head of a *gana*), *ganahara* (head of a *gana* and *ganavaccheyiya*[25] The exact position if all these officials is not clear But, this hierarchy is absolutely of a different type in which none of the officials correspond to the Buddhist official like *sanghabhatta, bhandagarika,* or *ganapurka* and *salakagahapaka* In place of showing concern with the fulfilment of various material requirements of its members or the administrative efficiency in the organization, "the Jaina Church was content to have a hierarchy looking to the moral side of the monks"[26] In fact, the Jaina hierarchy presents a list of spiritual leaders in ascending order

Checks against Admission

Theoretically, the Orders of Buddha and Mahavira were above all class and caste considerations and anybody was entitled to its

24 *Cullavagga* (Nal ed), pp 271 274
25 S B Deo, *op cit* , pp 143 149, Schrubing, *op cit* , pp 253-56
26 S B Deo, *op cit* , p 149

membership As Buddha had put it, his Order was like the Great Ocean which received people from all castes and classes simply to cause them lose their former identity and become only a member of the Order But, while granting admission to the applicants the two sects felt incumbent to impose certain checks on them in order to avoid the harm that entrance of undesirable elements into the Samgha might cause While hygienic consideration barred the entry of persons suffering from serious diseases, social and moral consideration deprived criminals, debtors and minors etc of the membership of the Order The two Samghas were always anxious to maintain healthy relationship with the laity, the monks and nuns enjoyed high esteem in the society as persons of very high morality and character who were working for their spiritual salvation, and an indiscriminate entry of all sorts of persons was likely to tarnish this image and could vitiate the general impression about the Order in the mind of the people The bars laid down in the Buddhist and Jaina lists largely correspond to each other [27]

Admission and Attainment of Monkhood ·

The Pali *Vinaya* of the Buddhists shows many stages of development with regard to the rules for admission into the Order [28] At first Buddha used a very simple formula, this simply extended an invitation to the applicant to embrace the *Dhamma* for the final annihilation of suffering In the next stage, the applicant would approach the Samgha with shaven head and yellow robes and, sitting with bent legs, would repeat the *Tisarana* (the Three Refuges) formula In the third stage, the applicant was presented before the body of monks by his *upadhyaya* or *acarya* and if there was none to disagree the ordination (*pravrajya*) was considered as conferred *Sramanera* (Pali *samanera*) was the technical term used for such a person who had sought admission to the Order but was not confirmed as a monk He was required to take ten vows [29]

In the Jaina Samgha, too, the entrant, being sure that he did not suffer from any of the prohibitions and after renouncing all his material belongings, would have his head shaven clean (*mundve-*

27 For checks in the Jaina Samgha see *Sthanangasutra, op cit*, Vol II pp 242 52, in the Buddhist, *Mahavagga* (Nal Ed), pp 76 82, for comparison see Deo, *op cit*, p 140 and my *The Age of Vinaya*, p 116

28 *The Age of Vinaya*, pp, 113-115

29 *Mahavagga*, p 87

ttae), from this day he would not allow his hair grow longer than cow-hair and every half-month it would be alternately cut by scissors or removed by shaving It appears that in the very beginning of one becoming a monk the act of tearing off five handful of hair (pamca-mutthi loya) was done [30] Such a person was called seha (disciple)

In both the Orders a period of probation was prescribed before the Samgha was satisfied to confer on the applicant the cherished position of monkhood In the Buddhist Samgha, in the beginning, the initiation of the entrant to the Order (pabajja) and his confirmation (upasampada) as a monk took place simultaneously, but later on an intermediary gap was introduced as a period of watch and vigil over the candidate [31] The confirmation (upasampada) was to be separately requested to and obtained by the Samgha, elaborate rules were made lest an undesirable element might be confirmed as a monk In the same way, the Jaina novice, too, had to undergo a period of probation atleast for a week or for six months, on average, this period used to be of four months [32] During this period he would try to adopt the life and ways of a true monk and thus finally qualify for confirmation after taking the requisite vows (uvatthavana) [33] During the period of probation the novice would be entrusted with some competent monk who would act for him as the chief instructor (called acarya or upadhyaya in both the cases)

Some Common Institutional Observances :
Uposatha and Varsavasa .

From the Pali Vinaya of the Buddhists it is revealed that a ceremony called uposatna (Skt Upavasatha) had been common among the religious sects from an age-old time, a study of the Vedic literature attests its antiquity The New-moon and Full-moon days were considered quite sacred as far back as the Vedic times and Darsa and Purnamasas acrifices were performed ont hese days Giving an explanation of the word upavasatha the Satapatha Brahmana relates a

30 Ayarangasutra, Jaina Sutras, Pt I, S B E, Vol XXII, p 199 in the case of Mahavira adopting ascetic life See Schrubing, op cit, p 250

31 The Buddhist Pali Vinaya does not specify the duration of the probationary period in the normal cases It however, says (Mahavagga, p 73) that if a follower of some different sect desired admission, he had to be on probation for four months, hereby this duration can be inferred to have been of four months, as was the case with the Jainas also

32 Sthananga, op cit Vol II, p 23

33 Ibid

myth that on the *Vrata*, observed on the day preceding that of sacrifice, the gods come to dwell (*upavasatha*) with the sacrificer,[34] on this day the sacrificer was required to abstain from food completely or partially and spend the night in the room with the sacrificial fire [35] In this connection, the *Vinaya* relates that the *Parivrajakas* held assemblies on the 15th or 14th or the 8th day of the fortnight, Buddha himself adopted the custom at the request of Bimbisara On the occasion of these meetings, religious discourses were held [36] On the evidence of a passage in the *Digha Nikaya*,[37] it has been suggested that in the beginning only the main teachings of the Buddha were repeated in the *Uposatha* assemblies but in course of time these assumed the nature of a confessional ceremony [38] It is apparent that formerly the laity also attended these assemblies to listen to the general discourses that went on here The recital of the *Pratimoksa* (the list of monastic transgression for the monks) was a Buddhist development, after this development it was felt necessary to lay down the rule that the *Pratimoksa* recital should not be done in an assembly in which householders were present [39]

It is interesting to note that the Buddhist *Anguttara Nikaya* contains reference to Buddha speaking about three *uposathas* viz , the *Gopalaka-uposatha*, the *Nigantha-uposatha* & the *Arya-uposatha*,[40] the second in order clearly refers to the Jainas, the third stands for that of the Buddha himself while the first refers most probably to that of Gosala i e the Ajivakas Describing the *Nigantha-uposatha* Buddha says "There is a sect of the naked ascetics, so called, a sort of recluses, who exhort a disciple thus "Now my good fellow, lay aside the stick as regards all creatures that exist eastwards beyond a hundred *yojanas*, likewise westwards, northwards and to the south " Thus they exhort them to kindness and compassion towards creatures only, but not to others

34 *Satapatha Brahmana*, S B E Series, Part I, p 5

35 *Ibid*, pp 5 6

36 *Mahavagga*, p 5

37 *Digha Nikaya* (Nal ed), Vol II, p 39

38 Govinda Chandra Pandeya, *Bauddha Dharma ke Vikasa ka Itihasa* (Hindi Samiti, Lucknow, 1963), p 144

39 *Mahavagga*, p 177

40 *Anguttara* (Nal ed), I, pp 190 191 *'Tayo khome, Visakha uposatha Katame tayo ? Gopalakuposatho, niganthuposatho, ariyuposatho '*, for English rendering see *The Book of Gradual Sayings* (P T S), Vol I, pp 185 ff

"Thus again on the sabbath day they exhort a disciple thus. "Now, good fellow, off with all your clothes and say 'I have no part in anything anywhere, and herein for me there is no attachment to anything" Yet for all that his parents know him for their son and he knows them for his parents Thus at a time when one and all should be exhorted (to keep the sabbath), it is in falsehood that they exhort them This I declare is as good as telling lies Then, as soon as that night has passed he resumes the use of his belongings, which had not been given back to him really This I declare is as good as stealing., A sabbath of the naked ascetics thus spent is not of great fruit or profit "

It is not necessary here to discuss the points of criticism raised by Buddha which is obviously the result of a deliberate hostility against a rival sect or a case of misunderstanding It should be noted however, that the *uposatha* (*Posadhopavasavrata*) ceremony among the Jainas is not a monastic ceremony but one observed by laymen The procedure observed by the Jainas is like this the layman renounces all household affairs and at the middle of the day previous to the day of the *Posadha* day undertakes the vow, during the day he foresakes all sinful activities and sensual pleasures and spends the night without sleep and engages himself in the study of scriptures, on the next morning he would engage in the worship of *jina*, in the manner said above he would again spend that day, the night and half of the next day with all circumspection[41] Commenting on the *Anguttara* passage Professor Jacobi has remarked, "This description, however, does not quite agree with the Posaha rules of the Jaina Bhandarkar gives the following definition of Posaha according to the *Tattvarthasaradipika* which agrees with what we know about it from other sources 'Posaha i e to observe a fast or eat once only on the two holy days, one must give up bathing, unguents, ornaments, company of women, odours, incense, lights, etc , and assume renunciation as an ornament' Though the Posaha observances of the present Jainas are apparently more severe than those of the Buddhists, still they fall short of the above description of the Nigantha rules, for a Jaina layman does not, to my knowledge, take off his clothes during the Posaha days, though he discards all ornaments

41 For *Posaha* in the Jaina sources see, *Jaina Sutras* S B E , Pt I, p 266, *Sthananga*, Vol III, p 17, for a detailed account see, K C Sogani, *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism* (Jaina Samskriti Samrakshaka Samgha, Sholapur, 1967), p 104

and every kind of luxury, nor must he pronounce any formula of renunciation similar to that which the monks utter on entering the Order Therefore, unless the Buddhist account contains some mistake or is a gross misstatement, it would appear that the Jainas have abated somewhat their rigidity with regard to the duties of a layman" [42]

Varsavasa (Rain-retreat) was another custom commonly observed by the Brahmanical Sannyasins, the Niganthas and the Buddhists The custom was necessitated by the climatic requirements of the region where these ascetic sects were active [43] For the Buddhists the period started on the Asadha full-moon or one month after it and ended on the full-moon day of Kartika,[44] the Jainas observed their stay when fifty days of actual rainy season (i e the month of Jyestha and twenty days of Asadha) had already elapsed and ended on the fifth day of Bhadrapada [45] Many common rules were observed in the two Samghas with regard to the rain-retreat period [46]

42 Jacobi in *Jaina Sutras*, S B E , Vol 45, Intro pp xviii xix
43 G C Pandeya, *Bauddha Dharma ke Vikasa ka Itihasa*, p. 151
44 *Mahavagga*, p 144
45 Deo, *op cit*, p, 158
46 See, Deo, *op cit*, pp 157-158, my *The Age of Vinaya*, pp. 121-123

CHANDRAKANT G. RAJURKAR *

EMERGENCE OF RATIONAL AND ABSTRACT THOUGHT IN THE JAIN TRADITION

The religio-philosophical atmosphere around the sixth century B C encouraged the adoption of 'Reason' in place of 'Faith' to answer the problems of life It is seen that various religious movements in this age emphasized a rational outlook, ruling out man's subjection and submission to any super human power with the result that in this environment of *free-thinking*, Jainism, like Buddhism, emerged as a system of rational thought completely free from theistic influence. From this view-point, Buddhism and Jainism mark an important event in the history of Indian thought [1]

Rationalism is used by philosophers in opposition to Empircism, and it is defined as a theory of philosophy in which the criterion of truth is not sensory but intellectual and deductive, associated with an attempt to introduce scientific method into philosophy This necessarily involves a certain amount of abstraction and analytical and logical reasoning It is proposed here to make some obesrvations on the method applied in the Jain tradition [2]

The early Vedic society did not possess a complex character People were principally pastoral and the religion they practised was also a simple one It also lacked that inwardness which was to become more acute later in the Upanishads Their blind faith in the efficacy of sacrifices and the power of gods left not much room for

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1 For the Buddhist approach to the problem, see G S P Misra, 'Logical and Scientific Method in the Early Buddhist Texts', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1 & 2, 1968, pp 54-64

2 Ewing, *The Fundamental Questions of Philosophy*, 1951- P 30

an element of scepticism, thus limiting free and rational thinking But with the evolution of the Vedic society a remarkable change is noted Almost simultaneous with the migration of the Aryans from the north-west towards the east is witnessed a shift from orthodoxy to hererodoxy The importance of agriculture being realized, nomadic state is replaced by settlement followed by formation of Janapadas Society, however, remained rural and even by the end of the Vedic period it had not advanced much beyond the tribal stage A decee lerated pioneering on the part of the kings and priests could be onl of the causes for it In these circumstances the more thoughtfu begin to doubt the existing religious practices, whereas others inclined eagerly towards available alternatives Such an alternative was found in the form of the sect of the *Munis*, a class of people who prevailed from the pre-Vedic times, and were percieved distinctly living outside the Vedic pale as wandering ascetics They appear as the precursors of the Sramana tradition which is elaborately referred to the Buddhist and Jain texts Society had already witnessed the growth of moral consciousness as is suggested by an increase in the importance of Solar deities during the later Vedic times We also notice a growth of abstract deities and approaching closer towards the Upanishadic period the doctrines of Karman, Re-Birth and *Amrtattva* were fully established on firm grounds In this perspective, the Upanishadic thought looked forward for an advancement from the worshipping of God to seeking the Self

By the sixth century B C, the whole of the ancient world witnessed a remarkable change in all realms With the advent of iron, the growth of trade and commerce, and emergence of money, the rural character of Indian society transformed to an urban one [3] A sharp contrast had also developed in the political structure The republics were fast declining ultimately to be replaced by a single sovereign empire in Magadha The socio-economic and political changes contributed in creating a sense of social distress and of scepticism "There is suffering", is what society seems to realize The circumstances gave an impetus to the spirit of questioning A connection may be seen between this social change and the quest for new pathways in the domain of religion and philosophy [4] Spengler

3 See my article, 'The Second Urban Revolution,' in *Jijnasa*, Vol I, Nos 1 & 2, 1974 pp 74–78

4 G C Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Allahabad, 1957, p 311

believes that growth of money tends to make social thought impersonal and abstract[5] Thus the social change provided an ocassion for a spiritual change It may be pointed out here that an autonomous development in the process of thinking was also taking place It is not surprising therefore if a rational tendency was developing also in the realm of thought

It is necessary in this connection to trace the origins of debate, for there is reason to believe that it was in and out of these debates that the first conceptions of valid and invalid reasoning would have arisen Randle, commenting on *Kathavatthu*, opines that logic was preceded by inevitable attempts to schematize discussion[6] The debate, however, seems to have its origin in the Vedic instiution of brahmodya[7] Their general form, however, was that of questions and answers and the venue being the sacrificial altar These brahmodyas were technically called *Vakovakyas* The nature of reasoning over here was analogical This analogical reasoning tends to become more empirical when we come to the early Upanisnads In the Upanisadic period debates take an institutional form, different in nature from the minor ones which featured at the sacrificial session Svetaketu Aruneya goes with a purpose of debating to the assembly of Pancalas[8] Similarly Yajnavalkya goes to king Janaka of Videha with the same object in mind[9]

Reference to the doctrines of Materialism are found by the time of the *Katha Upanisad* which mentions a class of people who hold *'ayam loko nasti para iti mani*[10] (This is the world, there is no other) The growth of this doctrine is probably a product of the rational temper of this period Later in the *Svetasvatara Upanisad*[11] reference is made to the doctrine of elements, which is to be identified with the materialistic doctrines mentioned in the Jain

5 *Ibid, p* 314, *fn*, 27

6 H N Randle, *Indian Logic in the Early Schools*, Oxford University Press, 1933, p 14

7 K N Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, 1963, p 43

8 *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad*, Ananda Asrama Series, No 15, 1914, (Ed K S Agase), 6 2 1

9 *Ibid*, 4 1 1

10 *Katha Upanishad*, Anand Asrama Series, No 7, 1937 (ed V G Apte) 1 2 6

11 *Svetasvatara Upanisad*, Ananda Asrama Series, No 17, 1905, I 2

texts,[12] which hold that the five elements were alone real and that things were composed of them As said earlier, the element of scepticism prevailed in the more thoughtful from the Vedic times, but the period preceding Mahavira and Buddha was the right ccassion for growth of sceptical schools of thought and agnostic trends carried in from the time of Yajnavalkya [13] The period was being provided by the presence of diverse, conflicting and re-crconcilable theories pertaining to moral, metaphysical and religious beliefs In the existing turmoil, people became curious as to which view was true, and in the absence of a convincing solution became suspicious as to whether any view at all could be true The *Brahma Jala-Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya* of the Buddhists refers to fifty eight schools of thought and *Sutrakrtanga* of the Jainas mentions three hundred and sixty three schools of thought These illustrations, however, appear to be artificial, but the existence of four main schools of thought viz, *Kriyavada Akriyavada Ajnanikavada* and *Vainayikavada* cannot be denied [14]

The philosophers of the time formulated various doctrines of *Kala, Isvara, Atma, Niyati* and *Svabhava* attempting to provide an answer to the basic problem of the origin of the world They all denied manly power as a means to overcome *Samsara* However, they all believed in the doctrine of Rebirth, but differed about its cause Makkhali Gosala considers *Niyati* to be the cause of Karman Another thinker of *Akriyavada* Purana Kassapa held that ethical distinctions between actions were unreal, because action itself was unreal Like Kassapa, Kaccayana also denied not the appearance, but the reality of action Thus the Ajivaka school accepted the process of *Samsara* giving it a new explanation, Kassapa and Kaccayana apparently Brahmanas denied the real existence of the problem itself Sanjaya Belathaputta was an agnostic thinker and believed that no knowledge could be had of the world process, soul or karman and other related principles The philosophy of materialistic nihilism was expounded by Ajita Kesakambalin [15]

12 *Sutrakrtanga*, Sacred Books of the East, *Jaina Sutras*, vol XLV pt II, p 343, 2 1 22

13 Yajnavalkya demonstrated rationally the impossibility of knowing the ultimate reality through the *Neti Neti*, doctrine an illustration of rational agnosticism approaching Kantian agnsticism See K N Jayatilleke, *op cit* p, 109.

14 See, *Sutrakrtanga, op cit* 1 6 27, 1 12, 2 1 1, 2 2 79

15 For an elaborate discussion see, G C Pande, *op cit* pp 342 52

In a conflicting situation as above none could be sure to comprehend reality The transcendentalists based their viewpoint on mystic intuitions, whereas, philosophers like Buddha, on the other hand were empiricists Mahavira provided a compromising solution in expressing the truth Jainism recommends a precautonary critical attitude to the problem of truth, as reflected in its doctrine of *Anekantavada* This attitude of relativism or noncategorical assertion is in a sense a sharp reaction to that of the sceptics When a sceptic was faced with a variety of conflicting theories, he came to the conclusion that none of them can be known to be true, since, all may be false and there was no criterion to decide, as to which was true According to the Jaina attitude each of these conflicting theories may contain an element of truth and as such be partly true and partly false, or true from some point of view and false from another The pluralistic realism of the Jainas presupposes the acceptance of the principle of distinction Reality, according to Jainism is a complex, not merely in the sense of constituting manyness (*aneka*) but also because of its manifoldness, (*anekanta*) and its comprehension is only possible when viewed from different angles (*nayas*) The doctrine of *anekantavada* is upheld by a dialectical method called *syadavada*, the latter, however, appears to be a later development [16]

A passage in the *Sutrakrtanga*[17] draws our attention to the use of analysis in understanding "He should expound the analytical theory and use the two kinds of speech, noticeable among virtuous men, the impartial and the wise "Silanka,[18] in his commentary on *Sutrakrtanga* explains the phrase *Vibbhajavayam* as "One should expound the theory which unravels separate meanings" and then goes on to suggest two alternative meanings for the term either *Vibbhajavada* is *Syadavada* which one should expound as it is flawless, is comprehensive, it is not contradicted, is validated by one's own experience or the term means analysis made after distinguishing the sense properly One notices here a striking similarity with Buddhism Buddha also claims to be an analyst and not a dogmatist, when he makes a categorical assertion *Vibbhajavado aham*

16 G C Pande, *op cit*, p 353

17 *Sutrakrtanga*, I 14 22 "*Vibbhajavayam ca Viyagarejja*"

18 K N, Jayatilleke, *op cit*, p 162

naham ekamsavado[19] (speak analysing do not make a definite assertion)

The classification of knowledge in the *Sthananga* and the *Nandisutras*[20] the early sources of Jain literature point out that Jainism in its earlier stages itself was leading towards systematisation *Jnana* was classified as *Aparoksa* (immediate) and *Paroksa* (mediate) *Aparoksa* is further divided into *Avadhi* (clairvoyance), *Manahparyaya* (telepathy) and *Kevala* (omniscience) *Paroksa* is divided into *Mati* and *Shruta*, the former stands for both perceptual and inferential knowledge, whereas *Shruta* stands for the knowledge which is derived from an authority

The Jain thought brings the whole universe under two ever existing categories—*Jiva* and *Ajiva* The concept of *Jiva* appears to have been arrived at first by observing the characteristics of life and not through the search after a metaphysical principle underlying individual existence[21] The category of *Ajiva* is divisible into *Kala*, *Akasa*, *Dharma*, *Adharma*, and *Pudgala* Of these the attributes *Dharma* and *Adharma* are abstract notions[22] In the jain tradition these terms mean motion and stability respectively, and have not been used, in the usual sense of merit and demerit[23] These connotations for *Dharma* and *Adharma* are absolutely new in Indian philosophy

Soul in Jainism, however is intrinsically omniscient In its pure state it possesses infinite knowledge and in this stage it enjoys unhindered power of action The soul is also said to be in various stages of development, and these stages are determined by *Karman* It is only when the influx of Karmic particles is at an end by the complete exhaustion of past *Karman* that the soul shines with its natural vision Soul in bondage is, to use a Jaina analogy, like a luminous jewel covered with mud, as a result of which its luminosity is lost Jainism, for this reason alone was called by the name of *Kriyavada* in the begining The central belief of the

19 *Majjhima Nikaya*, Tr Horner *The Middle Fength Sayings*, Vol II (PTS), 1957

20 See, S C. Vidyabhushan *A History of Indian Logic*, Calcutta, 1921, p 161 fn 5

21 Prof H Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, Sacred Books of the East, Vol 45, Part I, Oxford, 1895, p 3

22 See below

23 See M Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1967, p 159, fn 3

system, was that through Nijjara of *Kamma* by ascetic practices, one attains *Kaivalya* from *Samsara*

The old ascetic idea of the Sramana tradition surged up in the 6th century B C, in the form of an ascetic movement Religious consciousness and social distress are the two necessary constituents of the spirit of asceticism,[24] and as discussed earlier both the elements were amply present in the age under consideration Mahavira's asceticism was a process of purification The spotless spiritual substance, the material defilement of Karman and ascetic practice are interwoven in the close synthesis of a theory of *Samsara* Thus the central belief of Jainism is the principle of Karman which is considered to be a quasimaterial substance as opposed to the Buddhist notion of Karman as a psychological function

It becomes evident that Jainism arose as a religious movement on the grounds of pure rationalization by adopting the procedure of providing compromising and synthesizing solution This attitude of reconciling associates Jainism to the "Hegelian camp"

Hegel has characterized the Indian Philosophy as the growing of the mind inwardly in the most abstract way and he calls it "Intellectual substantiality"[25] By the term he means that the Indians possessed the trait of substantializing abstract concepts In the Jaina tradition, the concepts of *Dharma* and *Adharma* denote motion and no-motion The principle of Dharma permits motion whereas, the other resists it Similarly another psychic principle of Indian Philosophy, the notion of Karman is in a way akin to materialism in the Jaina tradition The accurate measurements of space and time, abstract notions, elaborate atomic theory are further achievements of Jainism Abstraction is the step which leads to the growth of mathematics Mathematics is one of the four principal branches of learning mentioned in Jaina literature and in the Jaina canons occur some of the earliest references to different aspects of mathematical knowledge which later made elaborate and accurate schematization possible[26]

24 G C Pande, *op cit*, p 327

25 H Nakamura, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples India, China, Tibet Japan*, Hawai, 1966, pp 50 51

26 Among the religious works of the Jainas which are important from the view point of mathematics are *Sthananga Sutra, Uttaradhyayana Sutra, Bhagawati Sutra* and *Surya Prajnapati* etc

The role of abstraction is in the formation of concepts and general ideas In abstraction the identical elements are singled out and combined into a concept. It starts from a content that is a vague presentation, lacking both differentiation and integration and as such not yet either particular or universal Through intelligence it is transformed into a coherent system Abstraction is not the end of thinking, but a process which thought uses in the accomplishments of its own ends By reaching the highest abstraction we achieve the emptiness of thought, so it is in the process itself that the function of abstraction is justified The early doctrines of the Jinist thought discussed above give a true picture of this The heterodox systems of philosophy in general and Jainism in particular prepared the ground for the development of scientific method in times to come

ASHIM KUMAR ROY*

A NOTE ON JAINA MATHEMATICS AND ITS STUDY IN JAIPUR

I

Though mathematics as such has no religion or sect, Jain mathematics, one might say does exist Jain cosmography deals with time and space, that is, eras and sizes of the various words, in numbers of high magnitude, and very often these numbers bear some mathematical relationship to each other In other words, the numbers of years in each era or the distances between the continents or worlds of Jain cosmography might go up in arithmetic, gemoetric or some other progression, and it might be necessary to calculate how much bigger one era or one continent was from the other or what was the total number of years in all the eras added together. The shape of the Jaina universe was also quite complicated It was in the shape of three conical frustrums placed one on top of the other, and one might like to calculate the volume of this universe A sort of specialised arithmetic and mensuration, therefore, was studied by the Jain cosmographists from quite early times Thus Jain mathematical writings generally occur as parts of treatises on religion and mythology

This cosmography is more or less common to both Digambara and the Svetambara sects but so far as is known the study of cosmography in mathematical terms was confined to the Digambara sects [1]

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1 According to Shri Agar Chand Nahata, the famous Jain scholar of Bikaner, Svetambaras also wrote books on mathematical cosmography, but since modern authors who write in English or Hindi, did not notice them, these books have not come into prominence Shri Nahata mentioned to me in this connection a book called '*Lola Prakasha*'

The earliest book on mathematics known to us by a Jain however did not deal with cosmography though it mentions that mathematics was useful in solving cosmographical problems This book called *'Ganita-sara Sangraha'* written by Mahaviracharya introduces the subject by emphasising its importance for all other sciences such as kamashastra, music, drama, art of cooking, medicine, architecture, and also prosody, logic, grammar etc In addition to this mathematics was useful in obtaining the distances of sun, moon, the planets, the continents and the oceans

The first Jain book on what might be called mathematical cosmography was *Trilokasara* [2] The author of the book was Acharya Nemichandra Siddhanta-Chakravarti Nemichandra was a contemporary and friend of the general and statesman Chamundaraya who was a Minister of the kings of the Ganga dynasty of the Karnataka in the latter half of the 10th century It was Chamundaraya who built the gigantic statue of Bahubali or Gommatesvara (56½ feet high) in Sravana Bleagola

As a scholar and author of Jain religious philosophy Nemichandra was nearly as great as his coreligionist Hemachandra (1088-1172) of Gujarat who lived two centuries later Among the books written by Nemichandra the most well-known are *Trilokasara, Labdhisara* and *Gommatsara* *Trilokasara* dealt with Jain cosmography and is relevant to our subject *Gommatsara* and *Labdhisara* are works devoted to Jain philosophy

As stated earlier the magnitude both of time and space in Jain cosmography are large Nemichandra in *Trilokasara* tried to simplify the problem by reducing these numbers to the powers of 2, and then elaborating them in sets, infinite or finite, of the powers of 2 The only mathematical law necessary for this purpose is the law of indices, namely

$$2^m \times 2^n = 2^{m+n} \quad \text{and} \quad (2^m)^n = 2^{mn}$$

and Nemichandra was aware of this law

Indeed, Nemichandra also used a sort of logarithm with the base 2 His term for logarithm was *ardhachheda* or halving

2 *Trilokasara*—Hindi Jaina Sahitya Prakash Karyalaya—Bombay 1918 See also 'Mathematics of Nemichanda' by Bibhuti Bhushan Datta, in *Jain Antiquary* Vol I No 2 (1936)—pp 25 44, 'History of Mathematics in India from Jaina Sources' by A N Singh in *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol XV, No 2 (1949) 'Acharya Kalpa Pandit Todarmal Ganita Visayaka Sahitya'—Nemichandra Shastri in *Veer Vani (Todarmal Number)*—pp 40-73 Jaipur March, 1970

Ardhachheda or the logarithm of a number N was the number of times the number N could be halved In other words if $N=2^n$, then the *ardhachheda* of N or the logarithm of N, or the number of times N can be halved is n Thus he expressed the logarithmic law. log A+log B=log A B as "The *ardhachheda* of the multiplier plus the *ardhachheda* of the multiplicand is the *ardhachheda* of the product" (*Gatha* 105)

(Later Jain authors such as Dhavala conceived the idea of logarithms to the bases 3 and 4 also, i e the number of times a number could be divided by 3 or 4 were called Trikachheda and Chaturthachheda respectively But a general use of the idea of logarithms as we do to-day was not made by Jain or other Indian mathematicians)

Nemichandra also knew the sums of series in arithmetic and geometric progressions (*Gatha* 164 and 231) He considered the following fourteen kinds of sets -

(1) Sarvadhara is the set of all positive integers 1,2,3,4,

(2) Samadhara is the set of all even integers 2,4,6,8,

(3) Vishamadhara is the set of all odd integers 1,3,5,7,9,

(4) Kritidhara is the set of all square integers 1,4,9,16, or 1^2, 2^2, 3^2, 4^2,

(5) Akritidhara is the set of all integers which are not square numbers 2,3,5,7,8,10,

(6) Ghanadhara is the set of all integers which are cubic 1,8,27,64,

(7) Aghanadhara is the set of all integers which are not cubic 2,3,4,5,6,7,9,

(8) Vargamatrikadhara or Kritimatrikadhara is the set of all integers which are square roots of integers 1,2,3,4, In other words this is the same as the Sarvadhara

(9) Avargamatrikadhara or the Akritimatrikadhara should be the set of all integers which are not included in (8) above However, since no such number is possible, this set is taken to be a finite set of numbers which are not the square roots of a given number $N(=n^2)$ Thus in this dhara or set we consider only the set of numbers n+1, n+2, n+3, .. N

(10) Ghanamatrikadhara is the set of all such numbers which can be roots of integers 1,2,3,4,

(11) Aghanamatrikadhara should be the set of all integers which are not included in (10) above Here again the difficulty is solved as in (9) above by taking a cubic number $N = (n^3)$, and considering only the set of numbers $n+1, n+2, n+3, \quad , N$

(12) Dvirupavargadhara is the set 4, 16,256,65536, . or $2^2, 2^4, 2^8, 2^{16}, \quad . \quad 2^{2^n}, \quad .$

(13) Duirupaghanadhara is the set 8, 64, 4096, or $2^3, 2^6, 2^{12}, \quad 2^{3 \cdot 2^{n-1}}$

(14) Dvirupaghanaghana dhara is the set $8^3, 8^6, 8^{12}, \quad .$ or $2^9, 2^{18}, 2^{36}, . \quad 2^{3 \cdot 2^{n-1}}$

It will be seen that except for (9) and (11) which are finite sets, all the others are infinite sets

Mensurations :

Nemichandra also gave the formulas for the areas of triangles, rectangles, parallelograms, and circles, and volumes of prisms, cones or pyramids, spheres and isosceles trapezeum He assumed the gross value of Pi (the ratio of circumference of the circle and its diameter) to be 3, and its neat value to be 10

II

All the three books of Nemichanda were translated by Todarmal of Jaipur near about 1760 The language of Todarmal is almost modern Hindi though it has some touch of the dialect of Jaipur

Todarmal was born in a Digambar Jaina family of Jaipur He was the only son of Jogidas who seeing the precocious intelligence of his son engaged a teacher from Varanasi as his tutor The boy picked up the Sanskrit language quickly and went on to study the Sanskrit and Prakrit books on Jaina religion and philosophy Until recently it was thought that he was born in 1740 He died in 1767 This would mean that Todarmal died at the age of 27 The books translated by him were quite large *Gommatsara* had 38,000, *Labdhusara* had 13,000 and *Tilokasara* had 14,000 slokas or gathas To be able to write so much in a life of only 27 years would be a remarkable feat Some recent researches would, however, take his date of birth a few years earlier

Todarmal also translated into Hindi a book called *Atmanu-shashan* He also wrote himself a book called *Mokshamargapraka-shak* For a man whose main interest was religion and philosophy, the mathematical portions of *Trilokasara* would be difficult indeed Moreover, Nemichanda in his *Trilokasara* had expressed the mathematics in the Prakrit language and not in the usual manner, as at present, in symbols for numbers etc Todarmal was able to reduce the 14 sets of Nemichanda in figures As would be clear, out of the fourteen sets, the last seven are quite complicated The fact that Todarmal was able to solve them speaks highly of his genius

So far as the mensuration portion of *Trilokasara* is concerned, Todarmal could go upto the areas of parallelogram, but failed in solving the conundrum of the volumes of the various regular solids

It must, of course, be mentioned that Jaipur did not lack mathematicians of very high order when Todarmal was writing The The period of his writings was only about twenty years after the death of Sawai Jai singh who had gathered round him Hindu and Muslim astronomers and Mathematicians from many parts of India Many of these talented men must have been still available for consultations But it does not appear that Todarmal tried to contact them For the translation of the mathematical portions of *Trilo-kasara,* he depended upon his own labour and intelligence only

Jain mathematics, so far as it is Jain, had only one purpose This was to understand the Jain cosmography This mathematics had reached its highest point in the 10th century in the hands of the Digambar Jains of south India After this it did not advance much for it had no other goal left The mathematics was rediscovered and translated into a modern language in Jaipur in the 18th century by Todarmal

One might ask about the position of Jain mathematics in Jaipur to-day Though Jaipur is one of the most important centres of Digambar Jainas in Northern India, knowledge about Jain mathematics is practically non-existent here It is difficult to come by even a copy of *Trilokasara* in Jaipur

R M KASLIWAL*

CONCEPT OF SOUL IN JAIN PHILOSOPHY AND ITS SCIENTIFIC INTERPRETATION

Sometime ago I wrote a paper entitled "Scientific Concept of Soul a Hypothesis"[1] The question naturally arises whether this hypothesis can be applied to the concept on "Soul" or "*Atma*" as interpretated in Jain Scriptures

In Jainism everything revolves round Soul or *Atma* In fact some even call it *Atma Dharma*, every living organism has a Soul or *Atma* and it manifests through a body The physical body is therefore only a vehicle in which *Atma*, the living principle which gives rise to consciousness, resides Without this life force, the body is only a dead matter From the real point of view of *Nischaya Naya* every soul is pure, perfect, all knowing, all peaceful and all blissful It is free from passionate thought activity, defect or infirmity, desire or ambition, care or sorrow It has infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite happiness It knows all, sees all and is not affected by praise or defamation and maintains unanimity under all circumstances Therefore by nature it is pure and perfect and is capable of attaining Godhood and becoming *Parmatma*

But from the practical point of view of *Vyavahara Naya* the Soul or *Atma* appears impure because of the various thought activities like anger, pride, deceit and greed and other passionate thought activities which taint the *Atma* just as the particles of dust or dirt may make a piece of white cloth appear dirty These thought activities and other similar activities produce Karmic matter or molecules and these get attached to the *Atma* (Soul) which is an unbroken whole substance, non-material in nature

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1 *Journal of Para-Phychology*, Vol IV, No 2, 1962 63, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur

Therefore although basically every soul which is immortal and non perishable, is pure and perfect but because of its association with karmic matter it remains impure and does not attain Godhood and according to the karmic actions of the individual it goes on through the cycles of deaths and births and so on, till such time that the atma is able to get rid of the karmic bondage by various processes and procedures and is able to reach the pure and perfct state, when it gets liberated and attains *Moksha* According to Jain philosophy this is possible in every human being by his own individual efforts Therefore, in nut shell the whole of the Jain religion is to attain liberation or *Moksha* by knowing the true nature of one's soul This is the main goal Rites and rituals, vows and penances, *Sadhana* (meditation), *Swadhayaya* (study of scriptures) temples & preachings are of secondary details and are among some of the many steps practiced or suggested towards the attainment of this goal so as to liberate the *Atma* from bondage and make it free The following seven main principles are described to explain the philosophy of impurity of the Soul by karmic matter and how to purify it to attain the final goal of *Moksha* These are Soul (*Jiva*), Non Soul (*Ajiva*), in flow, bondage, checking, shedding and liberation (*Moksha*) Of these, the principles from 3rd to 6th are solely the steps to get rid of already existing karmic matter or prevent the formation of new karmic matter and thus purifying the soul and attain liberation

In the strict sense in Jain religious philosophy the Individual *Atma* besides being immortal and non-perishable, is all powerful and by one's own actions (*purusaratha*), one can attain and reach the highest goal The individual atma (Consciousness) has the capacity to become *paramatma* by getting rid of all the karmic matter It does not believe in the theory of supreme God or cosmic consciousness According to Jain philosophy the universe is full of infinite souls and each one is separate from the other and by its own *karma* it goes on passing through various cycle of birth and death, till finally it succeeds in getting rid of all the accumulated karmic matter and thus liberates itself and attains the supreme goal of *Moksha*

This in brief is the concept of *Atma* or soul according to Jain philosophy Therefore, in the light of modern scientific knowledge, it is possible to describe it in a scientific language which is verifiable and repeatable As soon as life starts it generates its own electrical energy, which can be detected on suitable instruments

like oscilographs, electrocardiographs, electroencephalographs etc Now there is a law in physics that every current of electricity when in motion must have its own magnetic field and hence it is presumed that every living organism also has its own magnetic field

According to this concept this magnetic field is the Soul or *Atma* of the individual and it gets attracted and attached to the electrical energy as soon as a suitable affinity between the two is established in accordance with *Karma*

Thus the electrical energy with its magnetic field goes on operating intimately in the individual through the media of electromagnetic waves It is well known that speech is easily transmitted through electromagnetic waves over long distances and similarly it is assumed that even thought processes have similar electromagnetic waves and even telepathic signals may have electromagnetic waves Great Yogis have been known to influence persons by virtue of their powerful personalities which are nothing else than their powerful Souls which according to this concept are their magnetic fields and thus it is possible to generate powerful electromagnetic waves capable of being transmitted by them This works in the same way as powerful magnets which are able to generate their own electromagnetic currents

During life all actions and thought process, specially powerful acts and serious incidents have an impact on the soul of the individual and these in the form of karmic matter in waves are attached to the magnetic field which is the Soul When an individual dies the electrical energy vanishes and the magnetic field alongwith the karmic matter escapes and this goes on roaming about in the universe till such time that it again finds its suitable electrical energy or nidus, when it again adopts a body and starts manifesting through it, according to its *Karma* So long as the karmic waves or matter are attached to the magnetic field it goes on through the cycles of births and deaths Thus this magnetic field can explain to a certain extent in a scientific language the concept of soul as it is understood today and its transmigration phenomenon

Of course this being a mere hypothesis,[2] has to be put to test in accordance with the modern knowledge of physics and allied subjects

2 Dr Kasliwal has a some what original hypothesis which belongs to the realm of Para-phychology rather than history—*Editor*

S R GOYAL*

THE RIDDLE OF CHANAKYA AND KAUTILYA

The Riddle :

Perhaps no problem of ancient Indian history has been so hotly debated as the date of the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya It is intimately connected with the question of the identity of the Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya. According to R Shama Sastry and many other distinguished scholars Kautilya, the author of the *Arthasastra,* also called Vishnugupta in the same work (15 1) was identical with Chanakya and was the Prime Minister of the first Maurya. The work would thus belong to the close of the fourth century B C[1] On this ground U N Ghoshal even uses the *Arthasastra* material for the pre-Maurya period[2] In the recent years a new dimension has been added to the traditional view by the attempts of some writers to prove that the author of the *Arthasastra* was not only the Prime-

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1 In support of the fourth century B C as the date of the *Arthasastra,* see Shama Sastry's preface to his edition of this work, Fleet's Introductory Note to Shama Sastry's tr , T Ganapati Sastri's Intro to his ed of the *Arthasastra,* Jacobi, *IA,* XLVII, p 187, K P Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity,* I, App C pp 203-15, N N Law, *Calcutta Review,* Sept , Dec 1934, N N Law, *Allahabad University Studies,* History Section, 1942, D R Bhandarkar, *ABORI* VII, pp 65, ff , R K Mukerji's Introductory Essay in N N Law's *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* and his Chapter on the foundation of the Maurya empire in the *Comp Hist India,* Vol II, K A Nilakanta Sastri's ch on the Maurya polity in the *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas,* Dikshitar, *The Maurya Polity,* Breloer, *Kautilya Studies,* I-III, quoted by K A Nilkanta Sastri *op cit ,* Also see H C Ray, *IA,* LIV pp 170, 201, Kane, *ABORI,* VII pp 85 ff , J Meyer, *Das Arthasastra,* quoted by K A N Sastri, *History of Dharma Sastra,* I, p 85 L D Barnett, V A Smith, F W Thomas and D D Kosambi also use the *Arthasastra* in connection with the Mauryas R P Kangle, a supporter of this theory has discussed all the argument in favour of the traditional view in detail in the third volume of his critical edition of the *Arthasastra*

2 Ghoshal, U N , *A History of Indian Public Life,* II, pp 9ff Monahan (*Early History of Bengal,* I 31) believes that the *Arthasastra* was composed before the imperial system of Chandragupta Maurya was started

Minister of the first Maurya, but also a Jain monk [3] However, the opponents of the traditional view, including Jolly, Keith and Winternitz maintain that the *Arthasastra* is a later work They suggest for it a date somewhere in the early centuries of the Christian era, some of them place it even as late as the fourth century A D [4] This causes them difficulty with regard to the legend making Chanakya a contemporary of Chandragupta The object of the present paper is to examine this problem and suggest what appears to us its correct solution

The Traditional View .

The mainstay of the view of Shama Sastry and his supporters is the tradition contained in the last but one verse of the *Arthasastra* itself (15 1) according to which it was composed by Vishnugupta who, in resentment, rescued the earth from the Nanda king The association of Vishnugupta, the author of the *Arthasastra* with Chandragupta Maurya and the role of the former in the extermination of the Nandas is also mentioned in the introduction of the *Nitisara* of Kamandaka (c 800 A D) and the *Dasakumaracharita* VIII of Dandin (c 6th cent A D) while most of the Puranas (composed in the present form in the Gupta or post-Gupta period) and the *Mudrarakshasa* of Visakhadatta (probably c 400 A D) refer to Kautilya as the destroyer of the Nandas without mentioning him as the author of the *Arthasastra* As Dandin and Visakhadatta also give Chanakya as another name of Vishnugupta or Kautilya and the *Kathamukha* of

3 Infra

4 For a date about the beginning of the Christian era cf *R G* Bhandarkar, *POC*, I, Vol I, pp 24-5 Raychaudhuri has taken 249 B, C and 100 A D as its upper and lower limits (*Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edn, p 9 See also *AIU*, pp 285 ff) A N Bose ascribes it to the first century A D *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, II, pp, 280 94) For the third century A D as the most probable date of the *Arthasastra* see Jolly, *POC*, Allahabad, 1926, Winternitz, *Calcutta Review*, April 1924, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol III, Keith, *JRAS*, 1916, pp 130 38, *B C Law volume*, I, pp, 477-495, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp 453 ff , E J Johnston *JRAS*, 1929, pp 77 89 Hillebrandt (quoted in *AIU*, p 285) and B C J Timmer (quoted by Keith in the *B C Law Vol* , I, p 494) ascribe the composition of the *Arthasastra* to a school of Kautilya's disciples According to R S Sharma (*Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*), p 20) while the BK II of the *Arthasastra* has some genuine Maurya touch about it, some portions of the work reflect the practices prevalent in the second century A D He has therefore concluded that "all the contents of the *Arthasastra* do not seem to belong to the same period " According to Kalyanov (XXII Orientalists Congress, Cambridge, 1955) the *Arthasastra* shows evidence of differentiation between philosophy and natural and social science On this basis he places this work in the third century A D Recently T Burrow (*ABORI*, XLVIII-XLIX, Golden jubilee Vol , pp 17-31) has assigned this work to the fourth century A D

the *Panchatantra* (composed probably in the Gupta age) mentions Chanakya as an author on polity, it is contended that all these three names belong to the same individual who was intrumental in overthrowing the Nandas and placing Chandragupta Maurya on the throne

But apart from the tradition mentioned above, there is hardly anything in the *Arthasastra* itself which may indicate so early a date for it. It has no doubt been argued that the civil and constitutional laws of Kautilya are in many cases similar to those recorded by Megasthenes. But it is also a fact that there are very significant differences between the picture of state and society as portrayed in the *Arthasastra* on the one hand and the *Indica* on the other As pointed out by Keith "the similarities which are visible between the two authorities depend on matters of a general character which are equally valid today On the other hand the differences often touch on essential facts and point essentially to a distinction in date between the two authorities"[5] For example, according to Megasthenes, Palibothra (i e Pataliputra) was surrounded by a wooden wall while Kautilya specifically warns against the use of wood in fortifications since fire lurks in it (2 3) In the matter of metals and their working the *Arthasastra* represents a more advanced state of development than may be gathered from the statements in Megasthenes Further there is no trace in the *Arthasastra* to a board of officers working on the land, to the administration of Pataliputra by six boards of five members each and to the administration of army by six boards of five members each which are referred to by Megasthenes[6] Moreover, Megasthenes refers to a good war practice that crops and lands are not destroyed by belligerents, Kautilya (9 1) definitely enjoins such devastation And lastly, the *Arthasastra* frequently refers to the use of written documents while according to Megasthenes at the time of his visit Indians did not have any written letters[7] Most of these arguments have been discussed in detail by Keith and O Stein[8]

5 Keith, *B C Law Volume*, I, p 483

6 But cf *Arthasastra* 2 9 35 (*Editor*)

7 The present writer also believes that the art of writing was not known to the Indians of pre-Asokan period and that Brahmi script was invented during the reign of Asoka himself Vide his paper *Brahmi An Invention of the Early Maurya period*, to be published in the *Puratattva*, New Delhi, July, 1975

8 O. Stein, *Megasthenes and Kautilya*, Keith, *B C Law Volume*, I, pp 477 ff Kangle (*op cit* p 66-7) has given a brief summary of these arguments

and almost all of them have remained unshaken inspite of everything that has been said to the contrary The supporters of the traditional view usually give emphasis on the similarities in the general condition of the people portrayed in these two works and forget that such similarities may be found in any two works of entirely different periods Actually, in such cases it is the differences and not similarities which should be considered in determining the contemporainity or otherwise of two treatises

Several other attempts have been made to arrive at a date for the *Arthasastra* by showing that the society portrayed in the Smritis of Manu (usually assigned to c 200 B C to c 20 A D) and Yajnavalkya (usually assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era)[9] is in many respects latter than the one depicted by Kautilya But curiously the same argument has been used by others to prove the posteriority of the *Arthasastra* to these works Jolly, who worked along these lines came to the conclusion that "Kautilya must have been acquainted with the whole body of Dharmasastra literature as we now have it " Therefore, the comparison of the contents of the *Arthasastra* with those of the Smritis can hardly lead us to any decisive results It is quite well-known that the authors of both the Arthasastra and the Dharmasastra literatures freely utilized earlier works on their respective subjects It is quite natural, therefore, that early and late materials appear side by side in their treatises. That being so, it is regarded as axiomatic that the dates of the composition of such works should be determined by their material of the later period[10] Consequently, if the *Arthasastra* is found containing material of the post-Maurya period, the fact that some of its portions appear to depict the condition of the Maurya age would only mean that while writing those portions its author drew upon some Maurya treatise on the science of polity As Kautilya himself states that he consulted earlier works on this subject, this hypothesis should require no additional proof We therefore feel that an analysis of the points of similarities between the *Arthasastra* on the

9 *Manu Smrti* was probably based on a *Manava Dharma-Sutra* It was most likely initially composed in the Sunga period but was revised later on *Yajnavalkya Smrti* has been placed by Jolly in the fourth century A D and by Kane in A D 100-300 (cf *The Classical Age*, pp 256 7)

10 In this connection it is interesting to note that Kautilya's categorical statement (3 1) that a royal edict (*rajasasana*) overrides *dharma*, *vyavahara* and *charitra*d which is somewhat exception in the political literature of ancient India, is followe by the *Naradasmriti*, a work of the Gupta age

one hand and the *Indica* or the Smritis on the other is an unprofitable exercise so far as the date of the *Arthasastra* is concerned Instead, a study of the internal and external evidence pointing to a late date for it, if such evidence exists at all, should lead us to a more definite and conclusive result

Theory of a Later date for the Arthasastra : External Evidence

Let us first take up the external evidence It is a very significant fact that the *Kautiliya Arthasastra* is not mentioned by any ancient work of the pre-Gupta age The earliest works to mention it are the *Dasakumara-charita* of Dandin (6th century A D) (which, significantly enough, refers to it as a' recent' work), and the *Nandi-sutra* of the Jains (not later than the 5th century) It is also highly likely that Aryasura (434 A D),[11] the author of the *Jatakamala* as well as the writer of the *Lankavatarasutra* (5th cent A D)[12] knew it but so far no pre-Gupta work is known to have made a definite mention of it What is more, while referring to the authorities on the science of polity, pre-Gupta literature usually mentions those schools and scholars who are described by Kautilya as his own predecessors. Kautilya begins his work with salutation to Sukra and Brihaspati evidently ranking them as the founders of the two greatest schools of Arthasastra. In the body of his work, again, he quotes several times the views of the schools of Manu, Brihaspati and Usanas (Sukra) as well as Parasara Among individual teachers the most frequently quoted named are those of Bharadvaja, Visalaksha, Pisuna, Vatavyadhi, Bahudantiputra and Kaunapadanta Now, while referring to the authorities on the science of polity the pre-Gupta literature refers to these very predecessors of Kautilya with conspicuous omission of Kautilya himself For example, in the *Mahabharata* (which received its final form in the beginning of the Gupta age) it is said that the archetypal work of Brahma on *dandaniti* was successively summarized by the gods Siva (Visalaksha) and Indra (Bahudantaka) as well as the sages Brihaspati and Kavya (Sukra).[13] In his *Buddhacharita* (I 46) Asvaghosa (c 100 A D) states that Sukra and Brihaspati created the Rajasastra which their fathers, Bhrigu and Angiras respectively, had not done Similarly, in his *Kamasu-*

11 *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p 196

12 *Lankavatara* ought to be placed much earlier than Vasubandhu (*Editor*)

13 Ghoshal U N, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, p 81

tra (I 5-7) Vatsyayana (c 3rd century A D) has stated that out of the archetypal work of Brahma, Manu prepared his treatise on Dharma, Brihaspati on Artha and Nandi on Kama In his *Pratima Nataka* at one place (Act V) Bhasa makes Ravana enumerate the most important works on the various sciences including the *Manava Dharmasastra* or the *Manu-smriti* which the kings of demons had studied There, on the science of polity reference is made to the *Arthasastra* of Brihaspati, and not of Kautilya These references prove that the pre-Gupta literature was not only ignorant of the existence of Kautilya, it positively referred to his predecessors as authorities on the science of polity This picture is in sharp contrast to the picture found in the literature of the Gupta age in which (for example in the *Kathamukha* of the *Panchatantra*), while discussing the authoritative works on the *trivargas*, reference is usually made to the *Manusmriti*, *Kautiliya Arthasastra* and the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana So far this aspect of the problem has not received the attention it deserves.

It has also so far escaped the attention of scholars that a Maurya date for Kautilya creates a gap of more than a thousand years between him and Kamandaka (c 800 A D),[14] the author of the *Nitisara*, who is the next earliest writer on the subject On the other hand, a date around 300 A D for Kautilya reduces this gap by six hundred years. The argument that the work of Kautilya eclipsed other works altogether is hardly tenable, for as we have just seen, his work (if it was composed in the fourth century B C) remained unnoticed at least upto the beginning of the Gupta age while the treatises of his predecessors were frequently mentioned and quoted in the works of the pre-Gupta period

The relative chronological positions of Bhasa and Kautilya point to a post-Maurya date for the latter As we have already seen, from the *Pratima Nataka* of Bhasa it appears that he flourished in an age when the great treatise of Kautilya had not come into existence, and the work of Brihaspati, mentioned by Kautilya as his predecessor, was regarded as the greatest authority on the subject Now from the same passage of the *Pratima Nataka* it is also apparent that Bhasa flourished after the composition of *Manu-smriti* usually assigned to the second century B C or later Therefore, Kautilya could have hardly flourished before the beginning of the Christian

14 Kane ascribes Kamandaka to the 3rd century A D , *History of the Dharmasastra* I p 19 (*Editor*)

era The posteriority of Kautilya to Bhasa is almost conclusively proved by two verses (*Navam saravam* etc.) of the *Pratijnayaugandharayana* of the latter which are given as a quotation in the *Arthasastra* (x 3) of the former No satisfactory explanation of this fact has been offered by those who place Kautilya in the early Maurya period

As pointed out by Jolly and many others the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya resembles the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana very closely in plan, language, style and basic attitude towards life Like the latter the former is written in the *sutra* style In both the works verses from ancient texts have been quoted Both the treatises are divided into *adhikaranas* which are subdivided into *prakaranas* Each of them is, on the one hand, based on the floating mass of traditional material on its subject and, on the other, bears a distinct stamp of the original thinking of its author Further, each of them cites the opinion of its author in the third person (*iti Kautilyah* and *iti Vatsyayanah*) a style which is only rarely found in ancient Indian literature In the *Kamasutra* there is a short *adhikarana* named Aupanishadika which deals with artificial means of increasing youth and beauty, recipes for fascinating and making the desired man or woman submissive, as well as for increasing sexual vigour Similarly, Kautilya has given an *adhikarana* of the same name in which he has described various *mantras* and recipes for producing illusive appearances, spreading diseases and killing people on a mass scale, remaining without food for days together, making others sleep etc The attitude of both these masters is completely amoral, both of them proceed on the assumption that everything is fair in love and war The facile attitude of Kautilya in his inculcating the benefits of defeating an opponent by guile, in his recommending unscrupulous methods for getting rid of inconvenient ministers and princes or in his formulating ingenious means of exorting taxes to fil the treasury are comparable to the indifference of Vatsyayana to uprightness, as we see, for instance, in his complacent instruction regarding the ways of deceiving maidens, of making shameless use of other peoples' wives for profit as well as for pleasure or in his teaching of calculated and sordid tricks to the harlot for winning love and lucre [15] These facts suggest that Kautilya and Vatsyayana were the products of the same cultural *milieu* In the words of Jolly "no long interval can have passed

15 De S K, *Ancient Indian Erotics and Erotic Literature*, p 95

between the composition of two such cognate productions"[16] Had there been no tradition making Kautilya a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya, Jolly's conclusion would had found widespread support We should not forget that the dates of a large number of ancient Indian works depend upon even less conclusive evidence Actually, according to a tradition recorded by Hemachandra, Vatsyayana and Kautilya were the names of the same person[17] No corroborative evidence for it is so far available but in view of the evidence discussed above it can hardly be denied that Kautilya and Vatsyayana must have been contemporaries or near contemporaries And as in his *Kamasutra* Vatsyayana refers to the *Arthasastra* of Brihaspati and not of Kautilya, it may be presumed that *Kautiliya Arthasastra,* came into existence after the composition of the work of Vatsyayana Now, the date of Vatsyayana is not definitely known but in view of the fact that he has made a reference to Kuntala Satakarni, he is generally placed in the third century The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, may, therefore, be placed in the same general period

Internal Evidence

Now let us discuss the internal evidence Firstly, as has been rightly pointed out by R S Sharma[18] and others, the administrative organisation outlined by Kautilya is different from the system revealed by Asokan inscriptions The typical Asokan officials such as the mahamatra, rajuka, pradesika, prativedaka etc are rerely, if at all, mentioned in the *Arthasastra* On the other hand, many fiscal and administrative terms such as bhoga, vishti, pranaya and parihara and official titles like sannidhata and samaharta mentioned in the *Arthasastra* are not known to the Asokan records, they occur for the first time in the Saka and Satavahana inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era The term 'skandhavara,' (military camp) also occupies the same prominent place in B K I of the *Arthasastra* as it does in the Satavahana and the Gupta inscriptions

The history of the official title 'mahamatra' may render us greater help in determining the date of the *Arthasastra* than it has been realized so far Several classes of mahamatras are known to the early Pali literature Employed in different categories as mantris,

16 Jolly, *op cit*

17 Mookerji, R K, *op cit*, p xiii-xiv

18 Sharma, R S, *op cit*, p 191

senanayakas, judges, ganakas (accountants) and heads of the royal harem, they formed a cadre of high officers in the pre-Maurya period. In the age of Asoka their number was multiplied Now they served in the royal palace, in rural and urban areas as well as in border administration But above all they functioned as dharmamahamatras enforcing the social and political order ushered in by Asoka. In the Saka and Satavahana inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era, however, they are found replaced by amatyas who emerge as the most important functionaries of that period The decline of the mahamatras was complete by the seventh century A D for in the *Harshacharita* of Bana the term 'mahamatra' has been used for the instructor of war elephants [19] This interesting piece of evidence, to which no attention has been paid so far in connection with the problem of the date of the *Arthasastra*, clearly suggests that this treatise should be assigned to a period later than Aṣoka and earlier than Harsha For though the office of the mahamatra is known to Kautilya, he nowhere indicates its functions, its real counterpart in his work being amatya, as it is the case with the Saka-Satavahana records

The social organisation of the *Arthasastra* also indicates a post-Maurya date for it Normatively, the Indian society was divided into four varnas which were later sub-divided into castes But in the centuries before and after the birth of Christ "Social convulsions and political disturbances due to the incursions of the foreigners together with economic developments of the age and the activities of the heretical religions resulted in a kind of social upheaval [20]" The *Angavijja*, a work on prognostication composed in the Kushana period,[21] throws revealing light on some aspects of this phenomenon At one place it classifies the four major varnas into two categories Ajja (Arya) and Milikku (Mlechchha)[22] In this context the first three varnas are included in the category of Arya and the Mlechchhas, appear to have comprised the indigenous Sudras aboriginal tribes as well as foreigners and outlandish people [23] However, at another

19 *Harshacharita*, VI Probably the Hindi term *mahaut* is derived from *mahamatra*

20 Vide B N S Yadava's paper in the *Kushana Studies* (Allahabad, 1968), p 79, Prakash, B , *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab*, pp 219 ff

21 Agrawala, V S , Intro to *Angavijja* (Prakrit Text Series, Varanasi, Vol I, 1957) p 91 The work was however retouched in the Gupta period (Agrawala, *loc cit*)

22 *Angavijja*, p 218

23 Yadava, *op cit* , p 77

place it classifies the society into Ajja (here meaning nobles or propertied class) and Pessa (slaves, servants and hired labourers most of whom were under varying degrees of servitude)[24] Now, the *Arthasastra* (I 13) also recognises the dichotomy of the Indian society into Arya and Mlechchha and Arya and Dasa It looks upon the Sudras as an Aryan community and forbids the sale of a minor belonging to any of the four varnas adding that the Mlechchhas may sell or pledge their children but no Arya shall be made a *dasa* This social outlook could have hardly developed in the early Maurya period when India was yet to be subjected to the Greek, Saka and Kushana domination and a class of numerically substantial class of Mlechchha slaves (which was, significantly, not noticed by Megasthenes) was yet to come into existence It may also be noted here that the Buddhist *Assalayana Sutta* actually ascribes the division of society into Ayya (Arya) and Dasa (slave) to the social system of the Yonas and Kambojas among whom there was no impassable barrier between the two classes[25] The R E XIII of Asoka also explicitly states that the social organisation of the Yonas differed from that of other regions[26] In view of these facts the *Arthasastra* which is fully aware of the existence of dichotomy of the Indian society as a whole into Arya and Mlechchha on the one hand and Arya and Dasa on the other, can hardly be placed in the fourth century B C

The B K XI of the *Arthasastra* refers to two types of samghas, namely *varttasastropajivin* (that is engaged in agriculture, cattle rearing or trade in peace time but taking to arms in case of need) and *rajasabdopajivins* (that is living by the designation of raja) As samghas of the second type are mentioned Lichchhivika, Vrijika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru, Panchala and 'others' (XI 1) Of these the Kukura, Kuru and Panchala tribes are not known from any other source to have adopted the samgha type of constitution As regards the Vriji and Malla samghas, they existed in the sixth century B C as close allies of the Lichchhavis, actually the Lichchhavis were the most dominant member of the Vajji confederacy All these samghas were completely exterminated by Ajatasatru who annexed them in the fast expanding Magadhan empire In the early Maurya period these tribes definitely did not exist as *rajasabdopajivin* sam-

24 *Angavijja*, p 149, Yadava, *op cit*, p 78

25 Quoted by Yadava, *op cit*, p 78

26 Pandey, R B, *Asoka ke Abhilekha*, R E XIII (Kalsi Edict)

period As P C Bagchi, one of the greatest Indian Sinologist, has pointed out the name Huna itself came into existence in the Gupta age [29] In any case, the Hunas were certainly far beyond the geographical horizon of the Indians of the fourth century B C The *Arthasastra* also makes a reference to coral imported from Alexandria (2 11) Now, as pointed out by S Levi,[30] according to Pliny and the *Periplus* the coral trade shifted to India in the first century A D In any case it appears certain that Alexandria, which was founded by Alexander only a few years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, could not acquire enough prominence as a sea-port by the close of the fourth century B C as to merit a reference in an Indian work of that period The *Arthasastra* (2 11) reference to Chinapata from Chinabhumi is also quite significant For, it is unlikly that the Indians were aware of China as the land of silk in the fourth century B C Perhaps China had not acquired this name in that period Similar is the case of the *Arthasastra* (11 1) reference to Parasamudraka According to the *Periplus* (first century A D) Palaesimunda was the name of Ceylon which the ancients called Taprobane Now, as Megasthenes and Asokan edicts actually knew this island as Tamraparni, it can hardly be maintained that an author of the fourth century B C knew it by the later name Parasamudra [31]

Lastly, we would like to briefly mention some other considerations which point to a late date for the *Arthasastra* Firstly, while Kautilya (2 6) prescribes the recording of the year, month, *paksha* and day in specifying dates in royal documents, Asoka nowhere follows this system Though an approach in this direction is seen in the Kushana records, the exact adoption of the rule of Kautilya is found for the first time in the Girnar inscription of Rudradaman I Secondly, the official language, contemplated in the *Arthasastra* (2 10) is Sanskrit, and not Prakrit used by the Mauryas, the Satavahanas and the Kushanas Thirdly there is no reference in the *Arthasastra* to royal titles characterstic of the Maurya age On the other hand, *Indra-Yama-sthanametat* (1 13) cannot fail to recall *Dhanada-Varunendrantaka-sama* of

29 Bagchi, P C, *India and Central Asia*, p 137

30 Quoted in *ABORI*, XLVIII-XLIX, p 18

31 The reference to Kambu (Cambodia) and Vanayu (Arabia ?) also suggest that the geographical outlook of Kautilya was quite wide

Samudragupta. Fourthly, the *Arthasastra* assumes the existence of a considerable body of technical literature on such topics as agriculture, architecture, chemistry, mining, minerology, veterinary science, the treatment of trees etc In the case of alchemy we are told of the conversion of base metals into gold, and we find the use of the term *rasa* for mercury which has hitherto not been traced further back than the Bower manuscripts of the fourth century A D and the works of Charaka and Susruta of very dubous dates The number of chemical substances mentioned in the *Arthasastra* is also longer than that of Susruta and other works It points to a later stage of development of chemistry in the age of Kautilya than at the time of Susruta Fifthly, the term *surunga* or *suranga* in the sense of mine which occurs several times in the *Arthasastra* (1 20 etc) is a loan-word from Hellenistic Greek surinx Similar is the case of *paristoma* 'a kind of blanket' (2 11) which is, according to T Burrow, a loan-word from Greek *peristroma*[32] And, lastly, the *Arthasastra* apparently caters for the requirements of the king of a small state surrounded by other small states and not for the ruler of an empire as would be expected if its author was the Chancellor of the first Maurya The reference (9 1) to the extent of the territory of a Chakravartin from the Himalayas in the north to the sea in the south does not contradict in the slightest the fact that this work deals with the states of small size Actually, the polity of the *Arthasastra* which is based on the theory of the circle of states, each with unlimited territorial ambition, faithlessness to allies and disrespect for treaties does not fit well with Maurya imperialism, it is more consonant with the postKushana period when small local principalities were dissolving in internecine wars[33]

Separate Identities of Vishnugupta Kautilya, and Chanakya :

It cannot be denied that the above arguments pointing to a late date for the *Arthasastra* are not easy to dispose of Many theories have been proposed to explain them away, but without much success

32 Borrow, *op cit*

33 According to Raychaudhuri (*AIU*, p 286) Kautilya cannot be placed in the pre-Asokan period because the number of varnas according to the *Arthasastra* is 63, while the Asokan scribes were acquainted with about 46 letters only But the argument is not correct for Kautilya has referred not to the number of varnas in the written alphabet, but the number of varnas in vocal *varnamala* of the grammarians which included several sounds such as those of the *pluta* vowels and *yamas* which never had separate signs in the written alphabet

The *Arthasastra* material which is of obviously later date is too massive to be explained by the theory of interpolations Similarly, the suggestions that the present *Arthasastra* is a revised version of an original work of the Maurya period or that it is a product of a school of theorists founded by Kautilya are quite untenable The treatise gives every impression of being the work of a single individual That this author was Kautilya himself has been unmistakably emphasised in the work itself Therefore if he wrote his work towards the close of the third century A D (as his posteriority to Bhasa, Asvaghosha and Vatsyayana, his reference to the Lichchhavi and Madraka republics, his mention by Dandin as a 'recent' author and other arguments discussed above suggest) it would naturally follow that the tradition contained in the last but one verse of the *Arthasastra* (which makes its author Vishnugupta the destroyer of the Nandas) and literature of the Gupta age (which makes Kautilya identical with Chanakya, the Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya) is wrong In other words Kautilya, the author of the *Arthasastra*, was a different individual from Chanakya, the politician of the Maurya age This theory first adumbrated by H Jacobi,[34] has been worked out in detail by E J Johnston[35] and T Burrow [36] Unfortunately it has so far not attracted the attention it deserves But to us it appears to be the correct solution of the riddle of Kautilya and Chanakya The following arguments are strongly in favour of this theory

Firstly, this theory keeps Kautilya's authorship of the *Artha sastra*, which is clearly established by the text itself, intact, and at the same time obviates the difficulties involved in the Maurya dating of this work Further, it does not make it necessary for us to doubt the historicity of Chanakya, the Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya so strongly emphasised in the Indian tradition

Secondly, almost in all the early versions of the story of Chanakya, only this name (not Kautilya or Vishnugupta) occurs The

34 *IHQ*, III, pp, 669 ff He, however, believed that there was once a Prakrit poet on Niti called Chanakya whom people afterwards confused and identified with Kautilya, the author of the *Arthasastra*

35 *JRAS*, 1929, p 88 Following Romila Thapar (*Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, pp 218 ff.) K C Ojha (*IHQ*, XXV, pp, 265 ff) wants to keep the identity of Chanakya and Kautilya and to separate Vishnugupta as a different individual This he combines with a theory of the gradual evolution of the *Arthasastra* from the original *sutras* composed by Kautilya alias Chanakya to its final redaction based on a mass of previous material by Vishnugupta which is the present work There is nothing to support such a complicated theory

36 *ABORI*, Golden Jubilee Number, pp 17 ff

earliest reference in Sanskrit to the legend of Chanakya is in the *Mrichchhakatika* of Sudraka (probably fourth century A D) where the name appears in the Prakrit form Chanakka (I 39 and VIII 34 and 35) From these references it appears that at that time it was a very well-known story on a level with those of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* The *Nandisutta* of the Jains mentions Chanakka among a list of person famous for their intellect, here the reference is no doubt to the political skill displayed by Chanakya in uprooting the Nandas Elsewhere the same text refers to *Kautiliya Arthasastra* without giving any hint of any connection between Chanakya and Kautilya [37] The Jain literature, as we shall presently discuss, also refers to Chanakka or Chanakya, the minister of Chandragupta, without suggesting that he was also known as Kautilya In both the Kashmirian Sanskrit versions (of Somadeva and Kshemendra) of the *Brihatkatha* of Gunadhya the story of Chanakya is found, it is quite likely, therefore, that it was included in the original *Brihatkatha* The significant fact however is that in the Sanskrit versions of this work also only the name Chanakya appears, not Kautilya or Vishnugupta

In the Buddhist literature, the story of Chanakya is found briefly in the *Mahavamsa* and in detail in its *tika* According to Burrow, no trace of the name Kautilya is to be found in the Pali sources in connection with this story though it is found mentioned in separate contexts in some later Buddhist works [38]

Thus we find that all these versions of the story of Chanakya use only this name, and never Kautilya or Vishnugupta Secondly, and it is also a very significant fact, in all these versions nowhere is there any mention of Chanakya' having been the author of a work on the science of government These facts should be quite sufficient to make it clear that Chanakya, the Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya, and Kautilya, the author of the *Arthasastra* were originally two different persons and that they were separated from each other by more than five hundred years As regards Vishnugupta, it also usually occurs as the name of the author of the *Arthasastra*, therefore it may be regarded as another name, probably the original name of Kauti-

37 Burrow, *op cit*
38 Burrow, *op cit*,

lya Most likely Kautilya was the *gotra* name of Vishnugupta[39] So far as Chanakya is concerned, there are no good grounds to doubt that he was a historical figure In any case from an early period the legend of Chanakya was popular and widely known In it he figured as the archetype of political cleverness Probably it was the reason which led somebody to identify him with Kautilya, the greatest authority on science of polity who actually flourished more than five hundred years later than Chanakya When this development took place is not definitely known but it must have taken place very shortly after the composition of the *Arthasastra*, for the author of the *Mudrarakshasa* is aware of the supposed identity of the two Similarly, the Puranas refer to the destroyer of the Nandas by the name of Kautilya[40] and the *Panchatantra* (composed in the Gupta age) mentions Chanakya as an author on the science of polity[41] According to Burrow, Visakhadatta (whom he places in the sixth century) was possibly the person responsible for this identification Once this identification became current, it was not unnatural for some scribe to add a verse at the end of the final chapter of the *Arthasastra* stating this its author was responsible for the destruction of the Nandas In the words of Keith, "It is the only passage which refers clearly to the defeat of the Nandas and there is no reason to believe that it belongs to the original work There is already a metrical conclusion"[42] Such additions and confusions in literary traditions of ancient India are usually found. For example in the early medieval period the author of the *Bhojaprabandha* made a large number of literary giants contemporary to Bhoja while another tradition made Vikramaditya of legends a patron of nine jewels (some of whom, according to the former tradition, graced the court of Bhoja) and ascribed to him many of the achievements of the Gupta Vikramadityas[43]

39 See Burrow *op cit* In the manuscripts of the *Arthasastra* the name Kautilya also occurs in form of Kautalya Now-a-days the latter spelling is usually regarded as correct (*PHAI*, p 285 n 2) though Kangle has preferred the former Both these however were *gotra* names Kautilya is not, as some ancient and modern scholars have supposed, a nickname signifying 'crookedness'

40 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 16,

41 However the *Kathamukha* of this work, where this reference occurs did not form part of its Pahlavi translation (c 570 A D)

42 *B C Law Vol* I p 494

43 *cf Vikrama Volume*, pp 483 ff

Difference in Religion of Chanakya and Kautilya :

The greatest advantage of the theory of the separate indentities of Kautilya and Chanakya is that it makes it possible for us to utilize the material contained in the Buddhist and Jain versions of the Chanakya legend for the re-construction of the history of the early Maurya period Here we shall not go into its details and confine ourselves to the early life and religion of Chanakya, the Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya, for it would additionally prove that Kautilya and Chanakya were two separate individuals

The Buddhist version of the Chanakya legend is mainly known from the Cylonese chronicle *Mahavamsa* According to it is he was a learned Brahmana of Taxila He had a grudge against the last Nanda who had publicly insulted him He, therefore, vowed to destroy the Nanda dynasty and succeeded in his mission fully He placed Chandragupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha and became his minister The basic outline of the Jain versions of the Chanakya *katha* agree with the Buddhist version though there are some significant differences also According to C D Chatterjee,[44] the secular works of the Jains in Prakrit and Sanskrit present at least two streams of traditions relating to Chanakya and Chandragupta, of which one is special to the commentaries on the *Avassaya* and the *Uttarajjhayana* and the other to the Jain *Katha* literature The germs of these two traditions are traced in the *Nijjuttis* The first occurrence of the Chanakya-Chandragupta tradition is very probably in the *Chunni* (*Churni*) on the *Avassaya Nijjutti* on the basis of which some time between 740 and 770 A D Haribhadrasuri wrote an elaborate story of Chanakya and Chandragupta in his *Avasyakasutra Vritti* Nearly three centuries later Devendragani wrote out the story afresh in his commentary on the *Uttarajjhayana.* His work is popularly known as the *Sukhbodha* Another version of this story in meterial Sanskrit is found in the *Parisistaparvan* of Hemachandra composed in about 1165 A D

The story of the early life of Chanakya, as known from these Jain works,[45] informs us that he was born in the Golla Vishaya (*Gollavisae*)[46] His father Chanaka was a Brahmana by birth but a

44 *B C Law Volume*, pp 607 ff
45 Cf Chatterjee, C D, *op cit*
46 It is quite possible that Taxila to which, according to the Buddhist tradition, Chanakya belonged was situated in the Golla District

Jain by faith (*savao*) The boy Chanakya was born with full-grown teeth At that time there were staying in his house some Jain saints (*sahu*) When they saw it they predicted that the new born baby was destined to be a king Chanaka, who was a religious minded person, considered earthly kingdom to be a hell, and so he scrapped out the baby's teeth [47] At this the saints predicted that Chanakya would then rule by proxy (*ettahe vi bimbamtarioray a bhavissai tti*) When he grew up, Chanakya was educated in the fourteen branches of knowledge of the Jains in all of which he became highly proficient. The rest of the story of his life as told in these works (his marriage, the insult of his wife at her mother's house, his resolve to acquire wealth, his Pataliputra visit and insult by the Nanda king, his vow to destroy the Nandas, his chance meeting with Chandragupta, the daughter's son of the headman of the village of the peacock-rearers or *Moraposagas*, his making away with the boy from that place,[48] his preparation for the war against the Nandas, his initial reverses and ultimate success etc) need not detain us here

The other stream of the Jain tradition which is special to the *Katha* literature is best represented by the *Brihatkathakosa* of Harishena (931 A D), *Aradhanasatkathakosa* of Nemidatta (c 1530 A D), the *Aradhanasatkathaprabandha* of Prabhachandra and the *Kathakosa* of Srichandra These authors appear to have derived the tradition from the *Bhagavati Aradhana* of Sivarya, which is assigned to the first century A D [49] The fossils of this tradition are found embedded in the *Painnas* also which are included in the canon of the Svetambaras and the *Angabahya* literature of the Digambaras The date of *Painnas* is not definitely known but as Kundakunda and Umasvamin who, belonged to the first half of the first century A D , made a thorough use of the *Angabahya* texts, "the downward limit to which the *Painnas* could be assigned, might be fixed at about 100 B C 2"[50]

According to the *Brihatkathakosa* of Harishena, in his old age Chanakya became a Jain monk Once, alongwith five hundred

47 According to the Buddhist tradition Chanakya himself had his teeth removed

48 According to the Jain sources Chankya took Chandragupta to his own place and according to the Buddhist works to Taxila It is in perfect agreement with the evidence of the Classical writers according to whom when Alexander invaded India Chandragupta was staying in that city

49 Chatterjee, *op cit* , p 609

50 *Ibid* p 610

other monks he reached Gokula, to the east of which was Kronchapura where a king named Sumitra was ruling Sumitra had given shelter to Subandhu, a former minister of Nanda and an enemy of Chanakya. Subandhu came to see Chanakya who was undergoing *Padopagamana* fast and after surrounding him with cowdung cakes, set fire to them In the *Upadesapada* of Haribhadra the same story is narrated with the difference that here Chanakya becomes a Jain monk because of his difference with Bindusara[51] and loses his life during *ingini marana vrata* In this work he is also said to have been a *Samgha-palaka* during the time he was holding the post of minister The *Bhatta Painna,* the *Santhara Painna* and the *Marana Vihi Painna* also support this tradition of Chanakyas death in all essential details.

From the above discussion it is apparent that according to the Jain tradition Chanakya, the Maurya minister, was a follower of Jainism There is nothing inherently improbable in this tradition As is well known, Magadha was a great centre of Jainism The kings of the Nanda dynasty were patrons of this religion , epigraphic evidence for it comes from the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela [52] Their ministers were Jain by faith Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya dynasty was himself a Jain. Therefore, Chanakya could also have been a Jain Unfortunately, Johnston and Burrow did not pay much attention to this tradition, even though it indirectly proves the hypothesis that Chanakya and Kautilya were two different persons and belonged to two different periods Similarly, Muni Mahendra Kumara Prathama and others[53] who believe that Chanakya was a Jain by faith, have failed to shake off the temptation of making him the author of the *Arthasastra,* the greatest Indian work on the science of polity But the theory that Chanakya was a devout Jain cannot be reconciled with the theory of his authorshiop of the *Arthasastra* The *Arthāsastra* is certainly not very respectful to the herectical sects It refers to all the non-Vedic sects as *vrishala* or *pashanda* and prescribes a heavy fine for inviting their monks to dinners in honour of the deities and pitris (3 20)

51 The Buddhist work *Aryamanjusrimulakalpa* also makes Chankaya a minister of Bindusara (Jayaswal, K P, *Imperial History of India*, p 16)

52 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p 217

53 Muni Mahendra Kumar Prathama, *Kya Chanakya Jaina Tha?* Muni Naya Vijaya, *Anekanta*, II No 1, 1938, pp 105-15, Jain, Jyoti Prasad, *Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskara*, XV, No 1, XVII No 1, *Smarika* 1974, *Bharatiya Itihasa ek Drishti*, Jain, B K P, *The Religion of Tirthankaras*

At another place (2 4) Kautilya assigns the *pashandas* a place of residence 'at the end of or near the cremation ground' alongwith the Chandalas According to another passage of his work in case of need the king should appropriate the property of a *pashanda-samgha* (1 18) These statements, coupled with the fact that according to the *Arthasastra* it is the Vedic way of life or Trayidharma that alone is beneficial to the people and the state (1 3), prove that the author of this work could not have been a person who inherited a faith in Jainism from his father and became a Jain monk towards the end of his life

Thus the Jain sources, if interpreted correctly, also prove that Chanakya was different from Kautilya and was a follower of the Jain faith Indirectly it corroborates and strenthens the theory that Kautilya, the author of the *Arthasastra* flourished in a much later period [54]

54 Recently Thomas R Trautman (*Kautilya and the Arthasastra*, Leiden, 1971) has analysed the language of the *Arthasastra* with the help of computer and has concluded that it is compilation containing the work of at least three hands He suggests that the earliest layer of this work belongs to 150 A D and that it was finally edited by somebody in c 250 A D His conclusion does not go against our suggestion However as his method does not admit verification, it connot be regarded as very reliable

V S BHATNAGAR*

AKBAR AND JAINISM

From the contemporary writings it becomes apparent that Emperor Akbar was a sincere seeker of truth and that he has a genuine yearning to realise the reality In his search for truth, true knowledge, and true path to salvation, Akbar tried to understand different systems of thought which the people of different faiths and creeds followed in pursuit of the ultimate truth Some of these sects had no large following It will, therefore, be a misconception if Akbar's attempt to understand the riddle of life and reality is considered as ostentations dabbling in religious matters for political ends Among the creeds with comparatively lesser following which influenced him most were Jainism and Zoroastrianism Here we are mainly concerned with the former

It is believed that his matrimonial ties formed in 1562 with the Kachhawaha Rajputs of Amber and his pilgrimages to Ajmer provided Akbar with an opportunity to come in contact with the Jain acharyas At that time he was only twenty years old Jainism does seems to have acquired firm roots in Rajputana as early as the 11th century The earliest inscription dated 1086 A.D of Brihada Gachchha or Vata Gachchha is the one found at Kotara in Sirohi state The next inscription of this sect is dated 1158 A D, found at Nadol The inscriptions of Kharatara Gachchha are found in different parts of Rajasthan, and from the 14th to the 19th centuries it was the dominant order in Jaisalmer The founder of Tapa—Gachchha, Jagachandra Suri, received the title of Tapa (a real ascetic) in 1228 A D from Jaitra Simha of Marwar The Gachchha played comparatively a more important part in spreading Jainism The Anchala Gachchha, though it had originated in Gujarat, had

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spread in Jaisalmer, Udaipur, Sirohi and some parts of Marwar by the 15th century The same was the case with Purnimiya Gachchha and Sardha Purnimiya Gachchha which though it had originated in Gujarat became quite dominant in the 15th century in Jaisalmer and Sirohi states Its inscriptions are also found at Jodhpur, Nagor, Ajmer and Udaipur The Agamika-Gachchha, founded in the later half of the 12th century by two acharyas of Agamika Gachchha, had spread in the 15th century in Jaisalmer, Nagor, Barmer, Osia, Sirohi, Ajmer and Amber Besides these, there were many other Gachchhas like the three Kula-Gachchhas, those named after venerable persons (such as Piplacharya-Gachchha, Prabhakara-Gachchha etc), those named after the place where they were founded (such as Harshapuriya Gachchha) The early Jain inscriptions found in Jaipur mention Chanchak-Gachchha (inscription dt 1472 A D), Raja-Gachchha (instription dated 1452) and Chhahitera-Gachchha (inscription dated 1555) The inscriptions found in Marwar, Jaisalmer and other places in Rajasthan mention some other Gachchhas Also the Mula Samgha and Mathura Samgha of the Digambaras had good footing in Rajasthan [1] Thus, substantial evidence exists, only a part of which has been mentioned here, which shows that Jainism was a living creed in Rajasthan, and paucity in the number of its followers was amply made up by the zeal of the Jain Bhattarakas, acharyas and the sramanas who moved from place to place to spread the religion of Mahavira The *Chaitya-vasi* system contributed much to the spread of Jainism, for, according to the rule, a monk could not stay longer than a night in any village and more than five nights in a town Though gradually considerable deviation from this practice was observed, yet the ideal remained and continued to contribute to the spread of the creed through wandering monks

In view of the above facts it does seems likely that Akbar, during his frequent visits to Rajputana, came in contact with the Jain acharyas even before 1578, when, as Abul Fazl writes,[2] the Ibadat Khana, which had been built at the Emperor's orders at Fatehpur Sikri for holding religious and philosophical discussions, was thrown open to the scholars and divines of different religions, including the Jain sevaras or Archaryas of the Swetambara branch and the Jatis or Jain monks [3] According to Jain sources, the Jain

1 See K C Jain, *Jainism in Rajasthan*, Sholapur, 1963, pp 18 49, 59, 60, 65, 68, 75, 88.
2 *Akbarnama* (tr Beveridga), II, p 365

scholars who came in contact with Akbar in the pre-1578 period were Buddhi Sagar of Tapa Gachchha who held a discussion in the Emperor's presence with Sadhu Kirti of the Khartar Gachchha. Another acharya of the Tapa Gachchha who came in contact with Akbar during this period was Padam Sundar The Jain version[4] about the meeting of these acharyas with the Emperor seems plausible as we find the Emperor anxious to meet the divines of different faiths since his boyhood

Akbar's object in his investigations in the fields of religion and philosophy was to ascertain what was truth and what was untruth in different religions, including his own, and also in the various systems of philosophy, so that he might adopt the truth wherever it was discernible, and reject all falsehood, even in his own faith He believed that truth could withstand severest scrutiny while what was false would crumple under the lancet of free and open investigation To quote him "He is a man who makes Justice the guide of the path of inquiry, and takes from every sect what is consonant to reason Perhaps in this way the lock, whose key has been lost, may be opened" He admired, as Abul Fazl writes, "the truth-seeking nature of the natives of India" [5]

Akbar, it seems, was a genuine seeker of "abstract truth" This is the impression we get from the nature of his inquiries to scholars, Pontiffs, monks, and recluses of different creeds He would enquire from them their articles of faith, their practices, the concept of God, the power of omnipresence of the soul, the theory of incarnation, the theory of karmans, the concept of the last day of judgment, the problem of salvation from sin, the power of being absent from the body, and such other problems [6] It was his desire to understand the purpose, course, and end of this life that he made his court, in Abul Fazl's words "The home of the inquirers of the seven climes and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect" [6]

It was in such a liberal climate that the Jain monks and scholars acquainted Akbar with the fundamentals of their religion They seem to have formed a good impression of the Emperor in whom

3 A L Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, I, p 243, (He cites *Yuga Pradhana Sri Jinchandra Suri*, p 63, *A N*, III, p 253)

4 *Akbarnama*, II, p 371

5 Thus see Badaoni, *Muntakhab-u-Tawarikh* (tr Lowe), II, 334

6 *Akbarnama*, II, 366

they kindled a desire to know more about their creed It was with this object that he invited Hira Vijaya Suri, the Supreme Pontiff of the Tapa Gachchha sect from Gujarat

Hira Vijaya Suri, described as the most distinguished teacher at that time, was born in Palanpur He was initiated to the order in 1539 For some time he studied Nayayasastra at Devagiri On his return in 1551, he was made a Pandit, and a year later Upadhyaya, and the same year was made a Suri, at Sirohi Akbar asked the Jain community of Agra to invite on his behalf the Jain Pontiff, and also sent instructions to the Governor of Gujarat to provide every facility to the honoured guest during his journey to Agra Hira Vijaya Suri, in accordance with the rules of his order, declined the costly gifts which the Governor presented to him and set out for Fatehpur Sikri on foot reaching there on June 7, 1583 He and the sixty-seven monks who had accompanied him, were taken out in a procession to the Jain upasharya in the town When he visited the court, Abul Fazl introduced him to the Emperor Hira Vijaya Suri stayed at the court for two years and was received by the Emperor a number of times Akbar was so much impressed by the learning and saintliness of the Jain teacher that he conferred on him the title of Jagatguru or teacher of the world Akbar held long discourses with the Jagat Guru on the fundamental doctrines, rites *and rituals* of the Jainas [7] Though we have no reliable record of the discussions which Akbar had with the Jain Guru, but knowing as we do the nature of his religious and philosophical discussions with the saints, divines and scholars of different creeds, we will be right in assuming that he must have found in the Jain sutras, angas and other parts of the canonical works anmple points to ponder over and moral precepts worth acceptance. The five Jain vows or mahavratas (not to destroy life or ahimsa, not to lie or *sunrita*, not to take that which is not given or *asteya*, not to indulge in sexual intercourse or *brahmacharya*, to renounce all love for worldly things and to call nothing as ones own or *aparigraha*, the thoery of atman, the hylozoistic theory that 'not only animals and plants, but also the smallest particles of the elements—earth, fire, water and wind, are endowed with souls (*jiva*), *vidarjka* (destruction of *karmas* and attainment of perfection by abstaining from sins, by controlling the senses and mind, speech, body, by penances, by observing the rules of conduct and austerities,

7 *Jainism iu Rajasthan*, pp 206–10, *Surisvara aur Samrat Akbar*

by cultivating righteousness, by entertaining pure thoughts, by renouncing attachment to the world, by meditation, by acquiring true knowledge, by being merciful to living beings for all discerning being abstain from cruelty (Nikkhittadanda) etc [8]

Of all the doctrines that "all breathing existing, living, sentient creatures should not be slain, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor driven away" for the reason that pain is unpleasant and disagreeable to all living things just as it is to us,[9] seemed to have influenced Akbar most He seems to have been convinced about the logic underlying the concept of *ahimsa,* described as "the quintessence of wisdom", and "the legitimate conclusion from the principle of the reciprocity with regard to non-killing",[10] was basically sound though its complete observance was difficult even for an ascetic, much less for a ruler He, however, made it a point to abstain from cruelty, especially in regard to the mute animals, and as we will see, gave up hunting, forebade slaughter of animals on a number of days and in his personal life gave up meat and began practising abstinence [11] Akbar, it seems, was influenced by the Jain doctrine of Ahimsa very much in the same manner as most of the Indians are, who though they violate the principle from time to time under the spell of passion, or greed, or to defend them from the hostility of nature or living beings, nevertheless cherish the idea as an ideal which constitutes a basic element in their value-structure

In support of the assumption that Akbar was indeed influenced by the Jain thought, we may take a look at the ten virtues which were prescribed for the members of Tauhid-i-Ilahi or Din-i-Ilahi, a new order which Akbar had started in 1582 These virtues bear a close resemblance to many of the fundamental ideas in Jainism and though no one can say that he borrowed these ideas exclusively from the Jains, for firstly Jainism like Buddhism was, as Jacobi suggests, only a development out of Brahmanism, and secondly Akbar was also influenced by Hinduism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism, which too to greater or lesser extent emphasized the idea of non-attachment to worldly things, abjuring of sin, truthfulness, abjuring of anger, need to develop a sweet disposition, chastity, need to cut off

8 See *Sutrakritanga,* Book, I Lecture 2, Chapter I-III
9 *Acarangasutra,* Book 1, Lecture IV, Lessons 1-IV
10 *Ibid,,* Lecture 11
11 See Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* tr Lowe, II 331, 335

the fetters of Karman and desire for external objects, and to inculcate righteousness and to subdue the flesh Nevertheless, the ten Virtues (1 Liberty and benificence, 2 Forgiveness of evil doers and repulsion of anger with mildness, 3 Abstinance from worldly desires; 4 Desire of freedom from the bonds, freedom from the bonds of wordly existence & of gathering provision for the next world, 5 Meditation on consequences of ones own actions, 6 Desire for good and marvellous deeds, 7 Soft voice, gentle words, pleasing speech, 8 good treatment with brothren to the extent of consulting their will above one's own, 9 Perfect alienation from creatures and attachment to the Supreme being, 10 Dedication of soul to the love of God and its union with God)[12] do bear an imprint of the Jain thought For instance, the advice about speech seems to be an echo of the idea in the Jain *sutras* that "sinful and blameable speech" and "speech in wrath or pride, for deception or for gain" should be avoided, language free from wrath, pride, deceit and marked by precision, moderation and restraint should be used [13] Similarly, the virtue, "abstinence from wordly desires is the whole gist of the lecture "Conquest of the world" in the *Acaranga Sutra* Akbar, however, continued to retain full faith in God "Perfect alienation from creatures and attachment to supreme being", and "Dedication of soul to the love of God and its union with God" were two of the virtues prescribed for the followers of the Din It is however certain that Akbar's respect for Jainism as a creed and system of thought continued and till his death he remained in touch with the Jain acharyas

After the departure of Hira Vijaya Suri in 1585, Shanti Chandra, disciple of the Jain Pontiff stayed on at Sikri Shanti Chandra who composed a Sanskrit poem recounting Akbar's pious actions performed under the influence of Hira Vijaya Suri, accompanied the Emperor to Lahor from where he returned to Gujarat in 1587 The same year Hira Vijaya Suri sent another of his able disciples Bhanu Chandra, to Lahor He stayed at the court till Akbar's death in 1605 He was held in such high esteen by the Emperor that "his place among the Jain monks of the Mughal court was considered analogous to that of Aquaviva of the first Christian Mission and Jerome Xavier of the third" Bhanu Chandra secured from the Emperor various concessions to the Jain community throughout

12 *Dabistan i-Mazahib*, A L Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, I, 286-237
13 *Acaranga Sutra*, Lecture IV

the empire The farmans recording these concessions were issued in the name of Hira Vijaya Suri The Adinath temple inscription dated 1593 A D of Satrunjaya hill records that under Hira Vijaya Suri's influence Akbar forbade slaughter of animals for six months, abolished the practice of consficating the property of the deceased, released prisoners, captive birds and animals, and abolished "Sujijia tax and Sulka" [14]

As mentioned earlier, Hira Vijaya and his disciples belonged to the Tapa Gachchha sect In 1591 Akbar sent an invitation to the head of the Kharatara Gachchhha, Jin Chandra Suri, a widely travelled Jain saint whose reputation for learning, piety, and saintliness had spread throughout the country When he reached Lahor, accompanied by thirty-one monks and many lay followers, he was given a grand reception by the Jain community of Lahor When Jin Chandra came to meet the Emperor, the latter took him to the inner apartments of the palace and listened to his discourse on *Atman, ahimsa* etc The Jain acharya stayed at the court for a year At his desire, the Emperor forbade killing of animals for seven days throughout the empire, from Asadha Sudi 9 to Ashadha Sudi 15, restored the metal images which a Mughal officer had seized at Sirohi, and also issued a farman to the Governor of Gujarat to ensure safety of the Jain temples in the province On February 23, 1593, Akbar honoured the Jain acharya with the title of *Yuga Pradhan* [15]

The third Jain mission was led by Vijaya Sen Suri, the ablest disciple of Hira Vijaya Suri of the Tapa Gachchha It is said that the success of and honourable reception accorded to Jin Chandra of the Kharatara Gachchha caused some heart burning to the Tapa Gachchhas and hence a mission was sent in 1593 Vijaya Sen Suri, accompanied by a huhdred monks, reached Ludhiana where they were received by the Poet Faizi and the Jains of Lahor Then, at the head on grand procession, they entered Lahor on May 31, 1953 Vijaya Sen, aged 45 years, was endowed with much dignity and maturity and he created a most favourable impression upon the Emperor by his learning and character The Emperor conferred upon him the title of

14 *Bhanu Chandra Charitra* (ed M D, Desai), Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, II 232-35, A L Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, I, 363-63

15 *Yugapradhana Jinachandrasuri*, pp 121-27, *P I H C*, 1939, II, pp 1065-68, *Karam Chand Vansa Prabandha, Aitahasik Jainakavya Sangraha, Kharataragachchha Brihad gurvavali*

Kali Saraswati In a debate provoked by the Brahmans, who charged the Jains of disbelief in God, he successfully established, that the Jain idea of God was similar to the one expounded in the Sankhya philosophy He stayed at the court till 1595 At his desire, Akbar issued an order forbidding fishing in the Indus for four months Some other Jain scholars, such as Bhanu Chandra and Siddhi Chandra, however, continued to stay at the Emperor's court Both these Jain monks accompanied Akbar to Kashmir and thence to the Deccan They were present when Akbar died at Agra in 1605 A D.

Akbar's contact with the Jaina monks and scholars lasted for about forty years during which period he not only acquired a good understanding of Jainism, his own idea and understanding of life and universe were also appreciably influenced by Jain thought and view of life

G N SHARMA*

SOME ASPECTS OF MEDIEVAL JAIN HISTORICAL LITERATURE AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Jain historical literature embraces religious and secular works, in prose and verse, in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabrhamsh languages. It comprises hymns, sacrificial songs, epic tales, lyric poetry, mythical and legendary narratives, theological treatises and manuals of instruction on ritual, and religious discipline[1] This kind of literature has its roots in the traditions of our land, and as such its historiography has much affinity with the Puranic and classical style. As far as method of writings is concerned, in a way, it adopts the features of older works in the ancient and contemporary historical context The contents of such writings, therefore, include ancient traditions, narrations of the deeds of the gods, heroes, saints, achievements of royal families and enterprising merchants depicted in legendary, semihistorical and mythical garb The stories and sub-stories connected with the actions of the *Tirthankars, devas, asuras, gandharvas* etc, are the favourite themes of Jain writers They also concentrate on the description of evolution and disolution of Universe like the Puranas Among them there is also an active tendency of linking up the worldly life with the superhuman and sub-human activities, as it is done in the Brahmanic literature

With this analysis of the closeness of Jain historiography to the ancient traditions, we may now pass to the different categories of Jain literature which is significant by virtue of its being useful for the study of historiography A detailed discussion on each group in all its variety is impossible here, but a selective treatment will bring to light the evolution of the method of Jain writings

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1 P Jain Shastri, *Jain Grantha Prashasti Sangraha*, pp 18–22

Among the historical literature of the early medieval period the *Upamitibhavaprapancha-katha* of Siddha Shri Gani occupies a pre-eminent position It is a type of *Katha Kavya* (V S 962) in which attempt has been made by the writer to win over the masses by preaching the religious doctrine of renunciation and contempt of the world through legendary tales and moral examples In all the eight chapters the author has thrown light through narratives, partly in prose and partly in verse, in a manner that the philosophical knowledge of self-sacrifice and love for all beings may become understandable to an average mind [2] The very fact that the *Upamiti* contains so many and so multifarious aspects—astronomy, astrology, logic, politics, war strategy etc , makes it more suited than any other literary work, to afford us an insight into the deepest wisdom of the soul of Indian life and thought The dialogue between *jiva* and and *Bhagwan*,[3] the description of chase, the *Manishibalkatha*, the story of *Nandivardhan*,[4] *Vellahalkatha*,[5] *Vasantaratavarnan*[6] etc , are after the pattern of the old epic poetry The work, in any case, as claimed by the author, is based on the *Avashyakasutra*, the *Uttaradhyayansutra*, old narratives and many other moralising maxims [7] The composition is after the style of *Akhyanas* with which we are acquainted in the Brahmans The discussion on some philosophical aspects like *kala, karma, dharma, jiva, maya,* etc , reach back to the spirit of the ancient Indian thought [8] Its account of Kapinjala[9] and Vaishvanara,[10] by virtue of their treatment, appear to have been drawn from the old Puranic lores

The Puranic writings also open a new door for the study of historiography in Jain literature The Digambara Jains began to compose the Puranas from the seventh century onwards with great enthusiasm [11] Ravisena wrote the *Padmapurana* in 660 A D Then

2 *Upamiti*, Kamal Prakashan, Pt I, pp 14-17
3 *Ibid* , p 42–43
4 *Ibid* , p 173
5 *Ibid* , p 206
6 *Ibid* , p 228
7 *Upamiti, Pratham Prastava*
8 *Upamiti Prastava* I pp 18, 24, 31, 54
9 *Ibid* , II, p 151
10 *Ibid* , II, p 156
11 Pargiter, *Markandeyapurana*, Transl p, xiv, Maurice Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol I p 524

followed a large number of theme, among which the Harivamsha Purana, the *Parshvanath Purana* the *Neminath purana* of the medieval times are pre-eminent The chief characteristic of these Puranas is their rigidity and sectarian character. All these Puranas contain references to Jain cults, rituals, fasts, pilgrimplaces, pious saints and shravakas Along with these references there are numerous mythological narratives, allegories and legends of kings and sages of primeval times—partly historical and partly imaginary Just as in the Brahmanic Purana, so here too, there are legends and dialogues upon the duties of the monks and *shravakas,* upon fasts and ceremonies, upon conduct in the daily life etc [12]

Very numerous are the *Prabandhas* in *apabhramsha* They are also a sort of continuation of the traditional style They contain ancient myths and legends together with the mode and manner of rites and ceremonies belonging to the Jain discipline Haribhadra Suri's *Samaraiccakaha* of the 8th century A D belongs to the type of *Dharmakatha* or religious romance As the author was well-versed in the Brahmanic lores and Buddhism his work shows his excellence as a theologion As for the style of the work, it is written in flowing Maharastri Prakrit But in places it contains intolerably long compounds in imitation of the Sanskrit literary style Many a content of the legends and tales, such as that of Bhandhudatta, Dharna, Vidyadhar etc , are often in literal agreement with the tales of the Puranic literature [13]

Similarly, the *Kuvalayamala*[14] of Udyotansuri (783 A D) contains varied aspects of life connected with human and superhuman beings It also plans inter-connected tales and legends related to kings, courtiers, queens, Mlecchas, Vetalas, Yakshas, Rakshakas, students, Vankanyas, Jineshwar etc , after Puranic style The narrator also concerns itself with moral & philosophical ideas popular with the ancient writers Many works like the,*Siyacharitra, Sursundari Chariya, Taranglola, Mahavir Chariya, Kumarpal Chariya, Neminath Chariya, Malaya Sundarikaha* etc , of the early medieval century bear semi-historical and legendary character Though the writers of these works are not very particular about the historical

12 *Prashastisangraha*, pp 24-25, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol III

13 *Samaraiccakaha*, Bhava 1-2, vv 23 25, Bhava 6th vv 23-50, 60 81, etc., M C Modi, *Prakrit Granth Mala*, No 7

14 *Kuvalayamala*, Singhi Series, Introduction, pp 1-15

accuracy of their anecdotes and tales but they help us in understanding the social, religious and moral atmosphere and contain much which is of great historical value

Again, the *Paumachariu* and the *Aritthanemichariu*, dealing respectively with the life of Rama and the Jain *Tirthankar*, Aristanemi, by Tribhuvansvayambhu, written after the Puranic style, preserve graphic description of scenes of nature as well as battles [15] The *Sayala-Vihi-Vihana-Kavya* of Nayanandin, composed at Dhara in V 1100 (1043 A D) is a beautiful *Khandakavya* dealing with religio-philosophic themes [16] The *Jambuswamichariu* written in Malwa in the reign of Bhoja retains vigorous descriptions of man and nature It is an attempt for popularising the story of *Kevalin*, Jambuswami [17] The *Harivamsha* Purana of Dhavala, is a well written kavya for the study of the development of *apabhramsha* literature [18] Tejpala's works[19] like the *Varangacharita* (V 1507) and the *Pasapurana* (V 1515), composed at Sripatha of the Bhandanaka-desa bear all the characteristics of classical literature

The advent of the Turks introduced a new trend in the historical writings of our country, and as such the Jain writings also felt its impact The Jain writers then did not confine their *Prabandhas, Kavyas, kathas* etc , to the religious and moral themes but tried to present history of the age in which the subjects associated with the kings, their genealogies, court life, political and cultural events etc , were given due emphasis The *Nabhinandan Jinoddhar Prabandha* of Kakkasuri of the 14th century A D , for example, records the account of Upkeshpur (Osian) and Kiratpur (Kiradu), the two important towns of religious importance [20] His comments on the life of the court of Alauddin Khalji and the attitudes of the Turkish nobility are of special interest [21] The picture of the Vaishyas, as drawn by the writer, is that of incessant toil devoted to religious parctices and professional efficiency [22] As regards the duties of the *Sanghas*, the

15 *Jain Prashastisangraha*, pp 1-2
16 *Ibid* , pp 3,4, 24-27
17 *Ibid* , pp 6 7
18 *Ibid* , pp 11-13
19 *Ibid*,, pp 28, 29, 100
20 *Nabhinandanajinoddhar Prabandha, Prastava*, I, vv, 43 63, 343 356
21 *Prastava*, III, vv 10-18, 273 317 318 326
22 *Ibid* , I, vv 33-37,

description is of no little importance for the study of the Political Science [23]

The *Hammir Mahakavya* of Nyayachandra Suri, composed in the 14th century A D, though it contains unnecessary and meaningless descriptions and digressions, preserves a series of descriptions of seasons, sati system and moral duties of the citizens Similarly, the *Somasaubhagyakavya* of Somsuri contains[24] useful references to the social and cultural institutions of the 15th century The description of the town and the markets of Devakulpataka (Delvada) preserved in the work is graphic [25]

In the study of historiography folk-literature has its own part to play Since early times there existed an inexhaustible store of narratives in prose and poetry which were repeated and sung by the travelling bards to the receptive gatherings Legends and cycle of sub-legends, which referred to the heroic deeds of kings, heroes and gods of primeval times found their way in their poems and stories repeated or narrated The Jains also took up the thread and composed poems which were termed as *rasa, doha,* and *dhal* This kind of secular poetry was compounded with religious and ritualistic poems In order to compose it on a broad base, legends of Gods, mythological narratives, philosophy, ethics and law were added In course of time the *rasa, doha* and *dhal* literature became instrumental for the propagation of religious doctrines and source of joy and instruction to the common man When such poems were publicly sung to the accompaniment of lute or dance they were highly effective Udyotan Suri's *Charchari Rasa* of the 9th century brings home the idea of disregard of earthly pleasure and love for knowledge and truth [26] The *Ripudaranrasa* of Siddhashri through the life history of *Ripudaran* imparts the value of morality [27] The *Ambadevi Charchari Rasa* of Devadatta, composed in V S 1050 and the *Jambuswami Charak* of Virakavi, composed in V S 1076 have preached the value of the great doctrines of action and piety

23 Ibid, IV, vv 1-19 V vv 1-23, 174-182 Also compare references from G N Sharma's *Rajasthan Studies*, p 174

24 *Hammiramahakavya*, Canto 13, vv 39 47, 173-186, can to 14, vv 17–19,

25 *Somsaubhagyakavya*, Canto V, v, 39, Canto II, vv 47, 57, Canto IV, v 55

26 *Kuvalayamala*, pp 4-5

27 *Upamitibhavaprapanchakatha*, *Prastava*, 4, vv 437-442

This kind of trend becomes more forceful through popular languages in the medieval centuries Samaya Sunder's *Simhalsut* (V S 1672), *Valkalchiri* (V S 1681) and *Champakseth Katha* (V S 1695) which are the collections of fictitious stories and anecdotes are illustrative of the virtues, vices and calamities of mankind [28] They are very useful in understanding the prevailing opinions of contemporaries, through examples of common experience The story of the sea-voyage recorded in the *Simhalsut*[29] appears to bring home the reality of social behaviours of the two parties—sin and piety Other stories are similarly devoted to the illustrations of some mental or intellectual quality expected in the 16th century society Similarly, Hemratan, the writer of the *Gorabadal*[30] V S 1645 and Jatmal the writer of *Gorabadal* Chopai (V S 1680) chose the theme of Padmini and propagated among the people the value of ideal womanhood and *Swamidharma* The same theme was developed by Labhdodaya in his *Padmini Charitra*[31] (V S 1706) He by no means includes in this work, the whole series of social set up of the 17th century

28 *Samayasunder Rasa Panchaka*, Introduction, pp 2 4

29 Samayasundar, *Rasapanchaka*, Introduction, pp 2 4 *Sarvagatha*, 196, *Abhayajain Granthavali*, No 4318, 89

30 *Nagaripracharinipatrika*, year 4th, No 8

31 *Padmini Charitra*, vv 1-11 vv 1 5, vv 7 12, 15, vv 1-5, vv 1 5, etc.

G C. PANDE†

A NOTE ON UDDYOTANASURI'S KUVALAYAMALA

The *Kuvalayamala* is a Prakrta tale[1] composed by the Jaina monk Uddyotana, styled *Daksinyacihna* in the year 779 at Jabalipura, modern Jalore, when the king Vatsaraja Ranahastin was ruling[2] The rich cultural material in the story becomes especially significant on account of the firm date of the work[3] We find here interesting glimpses of different aspects of social life We meet, tribal settlements (*palli*) which not unoften depended on robbing caravans, villages with prosperous farmers, retired soldiers and, noblemen, and wandering troupes of actors and ascetics, towns with milling crowds and glittering *bazaars* and many-storeyed white-washed mansions with flags waving in the breeze and latticed windows overlooking the streets We watch royal processions, battle-scenes and wedding festivities As the stories are generally concerned with princes and merchants, there are many picturesque descriptions of the palace and the court and especially of caravans and of merchant-ships ploughing the sea with their fluttering white sails. The author takes special pains to let us occasionally hear the babel of spoken dialects and languages of his time

There are, however, two obvious limitations on the *historicity* of such descriptions In the first place, *Kuvalayamala* relies on earlier works to a considerable extent Its author mentions *inter*

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1 It has been called a *Campu*, since it uses prose as well as verse Here at least the story, despite its complexity, runs continuously without any formal divisions The Prakrta is distinguished from Sanskrit, Apabhramsa and Paisaci—*Kuvalayamala* (ed A N Upadhye), I, p 71

2 *Ibid*, Pt II, Introduction

3 V S Agrawal, '*A Cultural Note on the Kuvalayamala of Uddyotanasuri*' (Printed in Upadhye, *op cit*, II, pp 116-29)

alia, Padalipta, Satavahana, Devagupta and Haribhadra Suri as having attained fame by their writings The influence of Bana, again, is undeniable in plotting as well as scenic descriptions The story claims to refer to very ancient times and there was nothing to stop the author from using old traditional material It is this tendency of the author which produces the second limitation and that is his occasional reliance on stock descriptions which came to be called *varnakas* Thus while it is interesting as well as rewarding to glean from the *Kuvalayamala* certain details which have not been noticed elsewhere, it will be unwise to ascribe them specifically to the time and place of the author or the time and place mentioned in the story In fact, what the work gains by its date being precisely known, it tends to lose by its use of traditional material For example, take the vivid description of the merchants' meet at Surparaka. Dr Agrawal comments "The above is a graphic cross section from the commercial life of India during the 8th century, drawing a picture of trade from China to Barbaricum and from Taksasila to Sumatra within which brisk commerce was maintained and valuable goods were exchanged by international merchants" [4] This appears to overrate the historic specificity of the description It is true that the author's descriptions of traders, caravans, ports and sea-voyages are exceedingly vivid and must derive from some contemporary experience Nevertheless we can only be sure of facts taken broadly, not of specific details For example, although the author does mention the Arabs,[5] his description of trade on the high seas hardly ascribes to them the significance they actually had in his times, which makes one see the limitations of his realism and contemporary observation He was a much travelled monk, well-read and imaginative, but not a trained historian

In fact, Uddyotana Suri is concerned with writing what is primarily, though not exclusively a *Dhammakatha*, an edifying religious tale [6] His primary declared purpose is not naturalism (*Svabhavokti*) or rhetoric (*Vakrokti*) or aesthetic-enjoyment (*Rasokti*),

4 *Op Cit*, II, p, 119

5 e g, he mentions the speech and dress of the *Tajika*, *op cit*, I, p 153, the Parasa are mentioned but in an apparently stock phrase '*Khasa parasa babbaradie*' (*l c*) a *Yavana dvipa* is also mentioned—*op cit*, I, p 104,

6 He mentions five distinct types of stories and one mixed type The present story is of the mixed type (I p 4) Not only is it 'mixed' (*Sankina*) in its from, but it is also mixed in the values it furthers "*ia esa dhammakatha vihovua kamattha sombhave sankinnattanam patta*" (*Ibid*,) See Nagari version on p,

but what might be called moral admonition (*Dharmokti*) His greatness however, lies in his ability to avoid a dry didacticism and muse life into tales of spiritual conversion Despite his profession, he is less a preacher than a poet Although he modestly disclaims any talent, he still hopes that his composition will please like a young bride, simple, inexperienced and shy but nonetheless graceful, delicate and sweet This is made possible not simply by his literary skill and power but by an underlying note of genuine humanism [7] It is in this that the true significance of *Kuvalayamala* lies

The learned editor of the work says "In fine, ascetic attitude, is writ large in various contexts All the characters, whatever their antecedents, renounce the world and attain better status by their life of piety and austerity" [8] In a sense this is undoubtedly true The Jain tradition has been above all an ascetic, world-renouncing tradition Early Jain texts are notable for their harsh and uncompromising rejection of secular life and its values The *Ayaranga*, for instance, contains a strident affirmation of such a spirit The life of Mahavira exemplified it and the First Council brought it out in those who refused to accept any concessions on account of the rigours of the great famine of the times Nevertheless, the acceptance of the laity necessitated from very early times the acceptance of secular life and values within the fold of Jain faith though with qualifications and in a subordinate position Austere asceticism and total renunciation remain necessary for the spiritual pilgrimage but before one enters the life of the monk, one may legitimately live an ethical life in the world and prepare oneself for the moment of spiritual conversion when the attractions of life pale into insignificance The impression given by many earlier Jain texts clearly is that ordinary human life lived in the pursuit of desire and dependent on action is wholly evil and must be ultimately given up wholly This is in sharp contrast to the Vedic view which found value in action and did not despise the satisfaction of desire The *Isopanised* is very instructive in this respect It begins by declaring that since everything is in dwelt by the divine, there is nothing wrong in wishing to live long and engage in work The spirit is not really touched by *karman* [9] In fact, if

7 Humanism is essentially the attitude of valuing human nature and life for its own sake It has no necessary connection with agnosticism, positivism or naturalism inspite of such modern associations

8 *Op Cit*, II, p 111

9 Is not '*na karma lipyate nare*' aimed against the Nigganthas ?

action be done in the right spirit it can be a help in liberation On this basis the doctrine of the Four *Asramas* was gradually elaborated and the point of view of *Pravrtti* sought to be combined with that of *Nivrtti* [10] It is interesting to note that the Jain acceptance of lay life gradually seems to have tended to veer round in actual practice, if not in strict theory, to a similar point of view which held moral life to be a properly valuable life at once fulfilling human nature in the secular context and also preparing one for the ultimate step of renunciation [11]

Questions of theoretical consistency and niceties of formulation apart, the attitude expressed in the *Kuvalayamala* is sufficiently vivid to be interpreted for what it is irrespective of the meaning which may be sought in it in pursuance of the tradition Uddyotana Suri has no doubt that he is giving expression to the genuine and pristine Jaina faith through the medium of delectable tales of adventure and romance just as the *Jatakas* are supposed to express Buddhist ideas and sentiments [12] The effectiveness of these tales, however, depends on their acceptance of adventure and romance as values though within the limits of ethical idealism [13] The heroes of Uddyotana are full-blooded men and women Swayed by passions they transgress the moral law and consequently suffer and repent They are thus able to progress spiritually (*bhavya*) with the help of Jain *munis*, attain to a moral and happy life and ultimately realizing the vanity of all things turn to the path of liberation The author describes *Trivarga* as the commonly accepted values Of these Dharma is the topmost (*uttama*) Artha is middling (*madhyama*) because it may be used

10 See my '*Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*', 2nd ed , Motilal Banarsidass, 1974, pp 356-367

11 *Dharma* as the common basis for fulfilment here and hereafter is a concept which was euqally acceptable to all- Brahmanas, Buddhists and Jainas Asoka penceived and expressed this most clearly by stating that the essence of Dharma is is universal and consists in self control (*samyama*) and 'elevation of emotions' (*bhavasuddhi*)—Raj Bali Pandey, *Asoke ke Abhilekha* R E This is an ethics based on the ultimate rationality and goodness of the human heart

12 But note that according to the editor, despite the introduction of Jain dogmatical details, "the structure of the narrative would remain intact in most of the cases even if these contexts are skipped over"
(*Op Cit* , II, p 69)

13 Cf *Tena kinci kumasaittha samabaddhain pi bhannihi Tam ca ma niratthayam ganejja kuntta padiwatt kuramam akkbevanittf kauna babumayām ti* (I, p 5) See Nagari Version p 5 It must be remember ed that even as an "attractive device" the presentation of romance will fail if it does not grasp the human values which make it effective in reality,

well or ill *Kama* is the lowest (*adhama*) because it tends to lead men astray Thus a good life is one where *artha* and *kama* are subordinated to *Dharma* A good man is restrained in his pleasures and generous in his wealth Whether a prince or a merchant, whether engaged in the adventure of trade or romance, one is always faced with temptation and must live by the moral law which is ultimately the law of self-control and compassion

Uddyotana describes Dharma as four-fold *danamaya, silamaya tapomaya* and *bhavanamaya* Of these the first three are difficult for the common man The fourth alone is easilly practicable and leads to spiritual conversion (*samvega*) Now the contemplation of spiritual truth can be powerfully aided by imagination which can vividly represent the true vicissitudes of human experience (*nanaviha-jiva-parinama-bhava-vibhavanattham*) Hence arises the concept of *Dharmakatha* which functions in four stages or levels—it pleases (*akkhevani manonukula*), shocks (*vikkhevani manopadikula*), awakens (*samvegajanani nanuppatti karanam*), and detaches the heart (*nivveyajanani una veragguppatti*) The present tale functions primarily at the first level and attracts the heart by its warm portrayal of life. The other functions are largely left to the preaching of the sages and ascetics Hence the author describes his work as "having all the qualities of a story, romantically pleasing (*singaramanohara*), well-formed, artistically endowed"

Thus, it is the ethical rather than the ascetic attitude which dominates *Kuvalayamala* and makes it interesting as a tale Monks and ascetics are not the heroes but only the redeemers of the more human heroes in this tale This reflects that aspect of the Jaina faith which inspired its lay followers who despite their vigorous, pursuit of wealth and political power, war and romance, art and scholarship, nevertheless tried to live a life of virtue and humanity, simplicity and generosity Such an outlook ought to be characterized as ethical humanism rather than asceticism because it rests on the control and spiritual purification of emotions and instincts rather than on their total rejection in the pursuit of an utterly transcendent goal This should not be surprising because unlike the *Sankhya* or *Vaisesika*, the Jaina faith holds the 'pure spirit' to be the perfection of humanity rather than its utter negation The *Siddha* or *Kevalin* does not transcend knowledge, will and happiness but perfects them

JAI NARAYAN ASOPA*

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE JAIN LAITY IN NINTEENTH CENTURY RAJASTHAN

In the Census Reports and Gazetteers of different states of Rajputana and the British administered territory of Ajmer Marwara the Jains have been counted among the Vaishyas (Mahajanas) The most well known among them were Oswals, Porwals and Saravagis While the Shrimals, Shrishrimals, Khandelwals and Bagherwals were comparatively less known Among the Agarawals and Maheshwaris also a few belonged to this sect

The Oswals[1] claim to have been Rajputs who were converted to Jainism by Ratnaprabha Suri Among their 325 surnames known to us there are Gehlots, Chauhans, Thakurs and Sisodiyas also, which led them to believe that they were Rajputs converted to Jainism But we would like to say that out of the remaining surnames some are based on the names of their forefathers viz Gemavata, Jatavata, Tulavata, Tharavata, Palavata, Bachhavata, Viravata, Muhanoyata, Lunavata and Bharagota etc , while most of them derive the appelation from the village or town where they lived or migrated viz Kanoja Khatora, Kharival Khimasara, Jalori, Didu, Dhillivala, nagapura, Navera, Pipara, Pipaliaya Pokarna, Bamboi, Bhinamala, Mandovara, Meratavala, Ratanpura, Runavata, Sirohiya, Sisodiya, Surapura Shrimala, Hemapura, etc., and a few were known after the professions they adopted viz Kirada, Kumkuma, Kothari, Kharabhandari, Khetarapala, Gandhiya, Gaya, Gugalia Choudhari, Ghiya, Barada, Bidamiya, Baidamuta, Bohara, Bhandari, Manahara, Lakkada, Sethiya, Soni, Harana etc It will be clear from the derivatives mentioned above that they do not throw any hint towards their Rajput

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1 *Report Mardumshumari Raj Marwar of* 1991, Pt III, Jodhpur (1895), pp 407 ff

extraction except the four surnames, viz Gehalots, Chauhans, Thakurs and Sisodiyas We may notice here, by the way, that there are other communities too, which claim Rajput extraction The Muslim Ghosis[2] (rarers of milch cows and buffaloes) have the following surnames viz Bhati, Tanwar, Chauhan, Moyal, Solankhi and Kaleri etc Hindu Ganchis,[3] (rarers of milch cows and buffaloes) have the surnames viz Paramara, Solankhi, Bhati, Borana, Gehalot, Devara, Padihar, Rathor and Sisodiya, Muslim Tailis[4] (oil-pressers) have the appelations Khokhar, Solankhi, Tanwar, Bahlim, Gauri, Chauhan, Saiyyad, Khatri, Khilji, Mangaliya, Bhati and Bhutta Tamolis[5] (betel sellers) also have the surnames as Chauhans etc Meharas[6] claim to be Chauhan, Dahiya, Hada, Khinchi, Deora, Sonagara, Nirabana, Chaba, Chatta, Chahal, Moyal, Kyamkhani, Bagrecha, Bhor, Khaibar, Abhairajot, Sambharia, Sambharia, Purabia, Sanchora, Sarakhela, Madarecha, Pavecha and Sahalota etc Muslim Bhistis[7] (water-carriers in leather buckets) have the surnames as Padihara, Chauhan and Bhati etc Beldars or Ods[8] (carriers of stones and clay on the asses) claim to be Chauhan, Bhati, Moyal, Solankhi and Panwar etc Kiras[9] (fishermen) claim to be Kanojia-Rathor, Aka-Sisodia, Brahamana-Dahima and Sarkana-Solankhi etc Hindu Silavatas[10] (stone cutters and dressers) have the surnames as Solankhi, Bhati, Gehlot and Paramar etc Malis[11] (gardeners growing fresh fruits, vegetables and flowers) have the surnames as Chauhan, Devara Rathor, Gehlot, Kachhawaha, Bhati, Solankhi, Parihara, Tanwar, Panwar, Dahiya etc They all claim to be of Rajput extraction

Such a cliam gives rise to a question, were there no mercantile communities like Oswals, Porwals, Saravagis, Shrimals, Shrishrimals, Khandelwals, Bagherwals, Agarwals, and Maheshwaris and the rarers of milch-cows and buffaloes, oil-pressers, betel-sellers, water-

2 *Ibid*, p 491
3 *Ibid*, p 494
4 *Ibid*, p 497
5 *Ibid*, p 498
6 *Ibid*, p 500
7 *Ibid*, p 502
8 *Ibid*, p 503
9 *Ibid*, p 500
10 *Ibid*, p 505
11 *Ibid*, p 81

carriers, stone and clay careers, fishermen, stone dressers and gardeners etc before the Rajputs were known to history by these names It is difficult to believe the non-existence of these communities before the Rajputs came to the forefront All these are old professions which were known to history even before the rise of the Rajput community We are of the opinion that these communities adopted the surnames of the Rajput clans in whose territories they flourished and whose patronage they enjoyed Then the appelations of the Rajputs themselves are geographical *e g* Sambharia Chauhan (from Sambhar), Nandola Chauhan from Nadol, Sonagara Chauhan from Savaranagiri (Sonalgarh = Jalore), Pavar from Pragvata, Dahiya from Dadhimati Kshetra (District Nagaur) Gauda from Gauda Kshetra (Harayana), Chalukyas or Salukyas from river Salki in Orissa, Rathore from Lata Kshetra (Southern Gujarat), Gahadwals from Gadhipur (Kannouj), Chandels from Chandravati (Madhya Pradesh), Kachhavas from Kachehha of Chambal (Madhya Pradesh,) Gurjara Pratiharas from Gurjaratra around the river jojri in the districts of Nagaur and Jodhpur, Gehlots from Galiakot (Dungarpur), Kalachuris from Kalavana (Maharashtra) When all the familiar clams of the Rajputs are known after the territories which they inhabited it equally applies to other communities as well The origin of the Rajputs and the other communities is common in this respect that they have also taken their appelation like the Rajputs from the territories which they inhabitated and in few cases from their patrons and in other cases from the professions which they followed This seems to be more natural than to think that all these communities came into existence after the Rajputs

Oswal is thus according to our opinion a geographical appelation of those people who inhabitated Upakesapura Mandala (Osian in District Jodhpur), but in course of time it became contracted meaning and is now applied only to the mercantile community who originated from this area and adopted Jainism enmasse They were divided into 84 schools (Gachchhas) and for religious affiliations they could be classed into three viz Samegis or Mandira-margis, Baisa Tola and Tera Panthis [12] The Samegis were called Mandir Margis because they worshiped the icons of Parsvanath etc The followers of Bais Tola and Tera Panthis did not believe in temples and icons The latter two professed that when after having attained ascetism the

12 *Ibid.*, pp 414 ff

Tirthankaras became liberated from all the desires there was no necessity to make their icons and offer service to them They attached importance to faith and not to worship, while the Mandir Margis even worshipped the Hindu gods like Hanuman and Bairava

Oswals believed in non-violence. For this very reason they desisted from killing even the smallest insects and took food only in the day lest the insects in the night might be killed They filtered the water through colth lest the insects might go into their stomach and be killed For obtaining the knowledge of Jainism they attended on the Jain Sadhus While doing so they put a small cloth (mumati) round the lips hanging by string from their ears lest the insects may be killed by the steam of their mouth They also observed Samai (sanyam-visesha i e, meditation) and Posa (Paushadha i e fasts done on the 8th & 14th days of the months of the Vikrama and oher festival days of the jains with particular rites etc) which was a part of their routine affair During Samai they kept a mumti (cloth round the lips) and cited the mantras with rosary in hand For Posa they observed fasts on Ashtami, Chaturdashi etc and other holy-days Bhadrapada was the month of Athai and Pajusana when they kept fast for eight days continuously from Bhadrapada Badi Ekadasi to Bhadrapada Sudi Chaturthi and some did it from Bhadarapada Badi Chaturdasi to Bhadrapada Sudi Chaturthi or Panchami Others started the fasts from Ashadha Sudi Chaturdasi and continued upto Bhadrapada Sudi Chaturthi and some did it with a gap of two days This series of fasts known as Chhamachhari Some observed the fasts from Ashadha Sudi Chatudasi to Kartik Sudi Chaturdasi with a gap of few days in between and this series was known as Chaumasa (fasts of the rainy season) During the season of fasts they attended the discourses of the Jain Sadhus (saints) in the temples, Upasaras and Thanakas Sadhus recited the Jain Sutras and preached sympathy and non-violence

About two percent of the Oswals were Vaishnavas They worshipped Vishnu and had their fasts according to Vaishnava tradition In spite of this religious difference, Oswals were one community as the Jain and Vaishnava Oswals continued to inter-dine and inter-marry

The social customs of the 19th century were simpler than today In the betrothal of daughter the bride's side used to send a coconut and some jaggery to bridegroom's house and when it was accepted

the betrothal function was over Daughters were married before the age of fourteen but in the villages they were married even upto the age of 18 or 20 For late marriages the daughters' fathers used to find out match of grown up age who could spare some money for them Marriages were solemnised by the Brahmanas and sometimes by the Sevagas (Maga Brahmanas) according to Hindu rites as the Jain Sastras did not provide for marriage They did not marry in the family of their father and mother just like other Hindus In the marriages three feasts were given, the first was known as Khichari, second as Bhala and the third was known as Mijamani Some prosperous people gave more than three feasts They were just like other high caste Hindus and did not allow widow marriage

They cremated their dead and took the remains to be immersed in the Ganga They showed respect to cow and Ganga like the other Hindus but did not perform other Hindu rites of obsecuese and did not observe the Sraddha (feasting the Brahmanas after death) ceremony) They mourned the dead for only nine days instead of twelve days mourning observed by the Hindus and tied their usual turbans on the nineth day They also did not get their heads shaved on the death of their elders like the Hindus But the Vaishnava, Osvals performed this and other rituals just like the Hindus They also gave feast on the twelth day like the Hindus but not on a large scale A few arranged a dinner for all the Mahajanas (commercial class) of twelve and a half castes They considered themselves superior to other Mahajans hence they gave dinner to them but did not attend the dinner if it was given by other Mahajanas Certain influential Oswals[13] were cremated in their own gardens and chhatris were erected on the burning grounds to their memories

Ordinarily they[14] were businessmen but some of them also took to government service and were known as Mutsaddis (clerks) For business they went to far off provinces in India and became a moneyed class In the villages they also tilled the land like ancient Vaisyas and carried articles of daily use in the kitchen on their back from village to village like pedlars The Agarwals took interest in trade in English imported goods while the Maheshwaris and Oswals

13 Adams A , *The Western Rajputana State—A mediate topographical Account of Marwar, Sirohi and Jaisalmer* (London) 1900

14 Report Mardumshumari, *op cit*, p 416

were opium traders, contractors and bankers and their business was generally far from home [15]

Perhaps the Oswal section of the Jainas, which had its beginning in Rajputana was the largest among the merchants and many of the hereditary officials belonged to the commercial castes [16]

Amongst the hereditary officials of Mewar the Mehtas had held the higher posts for many years At one time the ministers and the members of the Mahakama Khas were Mehta Gokal Chand and Mehta Puna Lal and another member of the same family, Mehta Gopal Das, held the post of Durbar Agent at Nathdwara Mehta Madhu Singh was Fauj Bakshi and was descendant of the former well-known Pradhan or minister, Mehta Ram Singh Mehta is a surname from village called Mahawtaka

The Kotharis (Oswals) and Pancholis (Kayasthas) held office between themselves for generations long before the establishment of British supremacy, but with the exception of Kothari Chhagan Lal who had charge of the treasury, revenue and commission departments, none held any important post, they were, however, in the enjoyment of jagirs from state [17] Those of them[18] who took service with the Raja or the jagirdar adopted some of their ways of living Their ladies observed parda, they themselves dressed like their masters and maintained outward'show of pomp and power They did not attach much importance to higher learning as it was not required in their commercial profession During the period our study the Bhandaris, Mahnots, Singhvis, Muhtas, Estate Managers and Lodhas of the Oswal community held very high and important positions in the State of Jodhpur [19]

Some of them like Singhi Chain Karan, Singhi Vanaraj, Singhi Indra Raj and Bhandari Gangaram led the state forces [20]

Lieutenant A Burn[21] who had paid a visit on secret mission in 1828-29 A D to Jaisalmer and Jodhpur, however, remarks, "Baneas

15 *The Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol II, Calcutta (1879) p 194
16 *Ibid*, p 70
17 *The Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol, III, Simla, (1880)
18 Report Mardumshumari, *op cit*, p 416
19 *The Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol II, Calcutta (1879)
20 Pt Ramkarna Asopa, *Marwar ka Mool Itihasa*, Jodhpur (1931) p 257
21 *Foreign*, 14 October, 1830, 3 8, Secret Consultations, National Archives of India

in Joudpore have great influence, in particular the 'Singhwees' Two men, Foujraj and Tuttiraj are the ministers, foreign affairs are also conducted by a man of the same tribe and one of them is even commander of the forces No portion of the Raja's army ever takes the field without a Banea at its head who paradoxically enough is the commander but fights not He is armed with spear, sword and shield but his religion forbids him to shed the blood of any thing living and his province is to order and encourage the soldiers, combined with a settlement and adjustment of the expenses, a system fraught with absurdity"

Having come in contact with the ruling community they evolved a better standard of living, ettiquette and courage [22] However Lieutenant A Burns[23] remarks, "Baniyas are numerous (in Jaisalmer) and have much temporal authority, being the men of business among the Rajpoots and having generally one of their members at the held of the affairs as the minister, an hour which is only now and then shared with them by the Brahmans They have most of the bad and less of the good qualities of the Rajpoots They even have adopted the name of the latter and the suffix' Singh' to their names It is considered an affix to the title of a Bania of rank and he is not ready to part with it"

Their customs and rites[24] were just like that of other Mahajanas but there were some minor differences also The Oswals having come into contact with the ruling community became a bit unorthodox in social habits While other Mahajanas did not eat garlics and onions and the food prepared by the barbers and the sons and daughters of the kepts, the Oswals did not hesitate to do the either

As the Rajputs had their flags in the processions so the Oswals also followed it but instead of the flags they dressed the bamboos with skirts and scarves and headed them with reverse lothas (small water jars) They claimed that they got this honour from the Badshah but there is no record of the same It seems to be an adaptation to follow the Rajput masters Hindu Maheshwaris were not allowed to do so by the Oswals who became well entrenched as an official class in the states and Jagirs in Rajasthan Agarwals, however,

22 Report of Mardumshumori, *op cit*

23 *Foreign*, 14 October 1830, 3 8, Secret, Consultations, National Archives of India

24 *Ibid*, pp 422 ff

could not be prevented from doing so In Hindu marriages there was the custom of saptapadi (seven rounds of the nuptial fire by the bride and the bridegroom) but the Jain Oswals had only four The Hindu Maheshwaris and Agarwals had four rounds of the nuptial fire but before that four rounds were taken by the bride and bridegroom outside the main gate There were some differences in the rites observed on death Jains neither believed in the oblations to the dead (pinda-dana), nor shaved their heads in their honour but the Hindu Mahajanas continued to do so

Jains were just like other Mahajanas as far as the professional life was concerned In religious life the Jains were guided by the Jatis (Jain Sadhus) whereas the Hindu Mahajanas were guided by the Brahamanas Some of the Maheshwaris and Agarwals were guided by the Ramsnehi Sadhus also The Hindu Mahajanas especially the Agarwals were mostly the followers of Vaishnava sects of Ramanuja and Vallabha whereas the Maheshwaris were mostly the followers of Siva and a few of Sakti

Among the Hindu Mahajanas none adopted the military profession and very few were recruited in the state service As the Oswals were the first to enter the service of the state they sealed the, chances of others Thus they became much more urbanised than other Mahajanas and having had opportunity to officer the military class they thought themselves to be one with them and looked down upon the other Mahajanas who were denied this opportunity Law of inheritence among the Jains was the same as among the Hindus

Saravagis .[25]

Saravagis claim that they were originally Rajputs but having had *avajna* (hatred) for *Sura* (wine) they were known as suravanjni but later the name was corrupted into Saravagi But the fact seems to be that the Mahajanas of Khandela Kshetra (Sikar district) came under the influence of Jainism and became lay followers and were called Sravakiya Mahajanas to differentiate them from Hindu Mahajanas of the area continued to be called Khandelwala Mahajanas As the member of those who became Sravaka and of those who remained in their old faith of Hinduism was quite large they became two endogamous units on the basis of the homogenity of religion This factor did not operate in the case of other Jain communities where

25 *Ibid*, pp 423ff

either of the group was so small that it could not maintain a separate entity as an endogamous unit This epithet Sravakiya became Saravagi in local parlance A number of their surnames are based on the village names to which they belonged or to which they migrated viz Ajmera, Kaslivala, Dausa, Pahadiya, Bhusavarya, Patodya Sambharya, Maulasara etc while a few of them are based on the professions which they adopted viz Gangavat (a dealer in copper utensils), Chaudhari (village headman), Khetrapala (watch and word-man of the fields), Potaluya (a pedlar taking kitchen articles in a bundle from village to village), Modi (ration-supplier), Luhadya (a dealer in iron ware), Baid (physician), Bohara (money-lender), Saha (banker) Sethi (banker) and Soni (gold-smith) etc

They claimed their branching (*Nakha*) from Rajput clans of Gaudas, Chauhans, Chandelas, Sodhas, Kachhavahas, Kurus, Mohils Tanwars, Pavars, Solankhis, Gehlot, Surya, Soma, Sankhala, etc As we have already said that the Rajput clan names were themselves geographical hence there is no necessity to explain their indirect, branching from the Rajputs Their branches (Nakhas) could be explained on the basis of geographical and historical connections

They were divided into two sects of Tera Panthis and Bisa Panthis, the numbers prefixed to the Panth (sect) indicating the objects necessary for salvation Thus the Tera Panthis believed in 13 and the Baisa Panthis in 20 objects The Tera Pan this did not have any place for a Bhattarka (Mahant among the Jains who led a Gachachha or Guru-Sishya tradition among the celebate Jatis or Sadhus) or Pandya (Brahmana) or Acharja (Katya Brahmana who ate the dinner of Kata meant for the departed soul at the time of death) Both believed in the worship of the icons of the Jain Tirthankaras but the Bisa Panthis differed in the rituals of worship They applied saffron to the feet and not the forehead, made offerings of eight articles including almonds, coconuts, cardamum, saffron and crystal sugar (Misri) and instead of flowers offered rice coloured with saffron and for food offered confectionaries prepared at home in place of the Bazar sweets The Tera Panthis performed the rituals of the worship themselves whereas the Bisa Panthis could get these done by Bhattarka or Pandita The Pujaris (worshippers) and Sevakas (attendants) employed for the purpose of worship in the temples got the food articles offered to the Tirthankaras but cash etc was deposited in the treasury of the temple

Brahmanas had no interference in the social life of the Saravagis save that they were called for performing the nuptial ceremony The rites and customs of marriage were common with the Hindu Mahajanas except the ceremony of striking the Torana (a wooden frame at the main gate of the bride's house) It was done one day in advance which seemed to be a precautionary measure in those days of difficult travel They did not allow widow remarriage

Just like other Hindus they bathed the dead bodies before cremation but sometimes also did without it They did not observe the rites of obsequies like the Hindus and also did not get their heads shaved in their honour They neither observed mourning for 12 days like the Hindu Mahajanas nor for 9 days like the Jain Oswals but cut off their connection with the dead on the third day They did not give any feast for the religious merit of the dead If they did it for social purposes there was no day or date fixed for the same

Just like Hindu Mahajanas they did not eat meat, garlics and onions They even did not eat honey because it was snatched violently from the bees who produced it They did not use ivory as it was mostly got by killing the elephents They considered wool to be unpious as the hair was shorn from the animals Its use was neither allowed in the temples and kitchen and nor as a hair braid but otherwise they used woolen clothes to guard against cold Hindu Mahajanas considered wool to be pure and pious enough to be used any where Saravagis believed in non-violence like other Jains and avoided injury to the smallest life They observed Pajusana like other Jains, attended their temples and also carried their Tirthankaras in procession in chariots to Nasiyan (Jain temple) outside the city

Saravagis, Jain Agarwals, and Oswals dined together but did not inter-marry Saravagis cared more for piety in matters of food and drink and did not take the clarified butter put in hide vassels but used the one put in the clay jars

There were also religious differences between the Oswals and the Saravagis Oswals believed in the Svetambar sect while the, Saravagis believed in the Digambar sect of Jainism There were other differences between the two Oswals kept Sevakas (attendants) for the worship in their temples, where as the Saravagis performed the worship themselves Oswals were less rigid in taking food after sunset but the Saravagis were so particular that they would not allow

even a chid above five to do so Oswals partook the bread cooked by Saravagis but the Saravagis would not partake that of the Oswals Oswals observed Pajusana fast for eight days where as the Saravagis observed it from Bhadrapada Sudi fifth (Panchami) to fourteenth (Chaturdasi) for ten days Oswals believed in the roaming Sadhus clad in white with scaff hanging by the ears on their lips whereas the Saravagis believed in the roaming naked Sadhus Oswals lit the lamps in their temples in the night but the Saravagis did not Oswals also took the icons of their Tirthankaras in procession in a palanquin like structure on their shoulders whereas the Saravagis carried their icons in procession in a chariot Oswals did mind taking the food without bathing but the Saravagis did not Oswals began the worship from the toe of the icon Terapanthis among Saravagis began from the head whereas the Bispanthis worshipped the toe Oswals allowed the saffron, sandal and flowers to remain on the body of the icons but the Saravagis removed these away In their social habits also they were more rigid They did not keep the kneaded flour to go stale nor ate the left over stale food of night lest it should develop germs They took their food under a canvas so that any germs might not fall in their food They used the wood and dried cowdung as fuel after washing them so that insects in them may come out before they were burnt

Porwals[26]

It is said that the Porwals inhabitated Padmavati near Abu and became Jains and were known as Porwal after Padmavati but it is a far fetched theory Porourai people have been mentioned by Ptolemy[27] Lassen has identified them with Purwar and Power Secondly, Purnapala's Vasantagarh inscription of V S 1099 may be referred to where Paurala courtesans, bachanalia and heroes of Vatapura (Sirohi district) have been described Thus the Porourai was the name of the people of Purvatya (people living east of the Arbudavali i e Aravali) or Pragavata whose chief town was known as Puravara They were mentioned as Pragvata people in their inscriptions,[28] from the 15th centuary but in local parlance they were known as Perwada or Porwal

26 *Ibid*, pp 428ff

27 Author's article in University of Rajasthan, *Studies in History*, 1967, p 47

28 P C Jain, *Jaina Lekha Sangrahah*, Calcutta Vol I (1915), Vol II (1927), Vol III (1929 See the indices and inscriptions there referred to

They also claim to have branched off from the Rajputs like the Oswals and Saravagis But we know that the Rajputs of this territory became famous as Paramara whereas the laity continued to stick to the old name They believed in Svetamber sect of Jainism but some of them continued to be Vaishnavas They were an endogamous unit and did not marry outside the caste though interdined with the Oswals

Porvals were a business community Mostly they were lenders They lent corn to the farmers for seed and food and when the fresh crop came they recovered the principal with an interest of 25 to 50 percent If the farmers were not able to return the corn they got a document written in their favour from them and thus the farmers seathed under the burden of increasing debt Some of them lent barley and took wheat in its place Due to them the farmers got immediate relief but were not able to flourish Porwals also cultivated the lands themselves

Porwals received money from the suitors for the marriage of their daughters Grown up girls were considered to be a mine of wealth If a girl attracted Rs 500 she was thought to be a she-goat but if she attracted more than that she was considered to be an ewe Due to this custom they were pleased when a daughter was born They also took loans on the basis of matrriage contracts and when they were accompplished they not only paid off the loans but became moneyed men themselves Due to this practice young girls fell to the lot of old rich men

Another custom among the Porwals was that when the birde reached the age of puberty the bridegroom used to go to her home after marriage instead of the bride coming to the bridegroom's house. On these occasions the mother-in-law used to block the gate and allowed him to enter only when he gave her some money for rearing up the bride She was followed by sister-in-laws and other women relatives and every one of them received something by way of customary payments Ultimately when he reached the bride she would also demand something If the bridegroom said to her that he had to spend so much for her, she would retort that so and so, Shah (merchant banker) was giving such and such amount but he should be content with the fact that having undergone the loss, her father considered him better than that Shah

Some Porwals did not take anything from the bridegroom except a token customary sum of Rs 84/- and rather gave dowry to the daughter Such marriages in which full price was not taken were called *Fau* in the local dialect It is said that this custom was laid down by Bhamashah the minister of Rana Pratap They were very proud of Vastu Pala and Teja Pala of their community who constructed the famous Jain temple of Luna-Vashi on Abu The custom of taking price of the bride seems to be old when daughter was considered to be a property But during the period of study, it was noticed that those who took the bride-price were considered to be lower in status but not so low as to deter a man from doing so

The Porwals did not observe mourning for the dead for a long time In some villages on the very day of the death they got shaved and were the usual attires They ordinarily did not observe the third day of mourning as was done by the Hindu Mahajanas Only a few of them observed the condolence on the third day as other Mahajanas did If they could afford, they gave a feast in honour of the dead but no time was fixed for it They carried their dead in a lying posture on the bier and not in sitting posture as is done in some religious demoninations of the Hindus

Shrimals .[29]

They claimed to have originated from the Shrimali Brahmanas But in our opinion it is a geographical appellation Just as Shrimalis were Brahmanas from Shrimala, the Mahajanas called themselves Shrimala after the territory Shrimal was a flourishing town in, ancient times and the area north and south of river Jozri (a tributary of river Luni) including Shrimala was known as Jozr or Jurz to Arabs and as Gurjaratra to conemporary Indians [30] Hence the Rajputs originating from this area were known as Gurjara Pratiharas, the Brahmanas as Shrimalis, Mahajanas as Srimala[31] and sometimes Gurjar[32] and sometimes as Gujar Shrimals [33] It was a pastoral territory and the pastoral community of this area was known as, Gujar and Brahmanas who migrated from Gauda (Hariyana) terri-

29 Report Mardumshumari, *op cit*, p 430

30 Author's article in *University of Rajasthan Studies, Arts*, 1962 63, pp 7-9

31 P C Jain, *Jain Lekha Sangraha*, Calcuta

32 *Ibid*, Vol II, inscriptions Nos 1134 & 1376

33 *Ibid*, Vol II, inscription No 1476

tory to this place were known as Gurjar-Gaudas The Shrimals[34] were the neighbours of Oswals They were an endogamous unit and did not intermarry with the Oswals but their social life was akin to that of the latter

Shrishrimals [35]

They used double Shri[36] before their names As they were counted among the original 18 sub-clan of the Oswals[37]. We are of the opinion that they were those Oswals who migrated from Upakesa pera (Osian) territory to Shrimala territory There connection with the Oswals would be evident from the fact that they intermarried with them and like them believed in the Svetambara sect of Jainism Their social life was akin to that of the Oswals One custom was particular to them that in the marriage the bridegroom put gold rings in the fingures of the bride

Bagherawals :[38]

They traced their origin from Vyaghrasena, the Rajput ruler of Baghera but the habitat Baghera itself would enough to trace their appellation hence we consider them Mahajanas of Baghera The community was divided between those who had faith in Jainism and those who had faith in Vaishnavism

Besides these there were minor groups of Jains known after the territories from which they hailed e g Palliwals, Mewaras, Modhs etc about whom not much is known Among the Agarwals (known after Agroha in Hariyana) and Maheshwaris (Didu—known after Didwana in Nagour district) a few adopted Jainism but inspite of it Agarwals and Maheshwaris remained endogamous units and change of religion did not break the community into two. Thus we are of the opinion that in the evolution of social compactness territory was more important than the religion, that the religious belief changed the outlook of the Jain Mahajanas to certain extent, and that they emphasized more on action (Karma) than the ritual, knowledge and devotion Thus they on one side avoided actions leading the destru-

34 Report Mardumshumari, *op cit*, p 430

35 *Ibid*, p 430

36 Ibid and P C *Jain, Jaina Lekha Sangraha*, Vol, I, inscriptions Nos 119, 292, 664 and 666

37 Report of Mardumshumari, *op cit*, p 407

38 *Ibid*, p 431

ction of beings but activised themselves in the actions which did not lead to destruction of life They could be neither good swordsmen nor good ploughmen This made them to centralise their activity on trade and commerce which led them to prosperity and sometimes powers Thus the Jains were just like other Mahajanas and still different from them There was, however, a strong feeling amongst the Hindus against the Jains as is evident from the saying that 'A Hindu had better be overtaken by a wild elephant than shelter himself in a Jain temple and to escape a tiger he may not run through the shadow of it' [39] This comment of Captain Powlett seems to be, based on old Sanskrit verse[40] and not on contempoarary practices where Hindu and Jains of the same community married and made a happy home The Saravagis are the only exception who did not marry in their old group of Khandelwal Mahajanas The verse and the observation of Captain Powlett seems to be based on local rivalries here and there but this feeling never attained the magnitude of communal rivalry as the rulers in all the states were Rajputs with a few exceptions and they never differentiated between Hindus and Jains in extending their patronage

39 Powlett, Capt P W *Gazetteer of the Bikaner State*, Calcutta (1874), p 90

40 हस्तिना पीड्यमानोऽपि न गच्छेत् जैनमन्दिरम् ।

RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA*

RAJASTHAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO JAIN ICONOGRAPHY

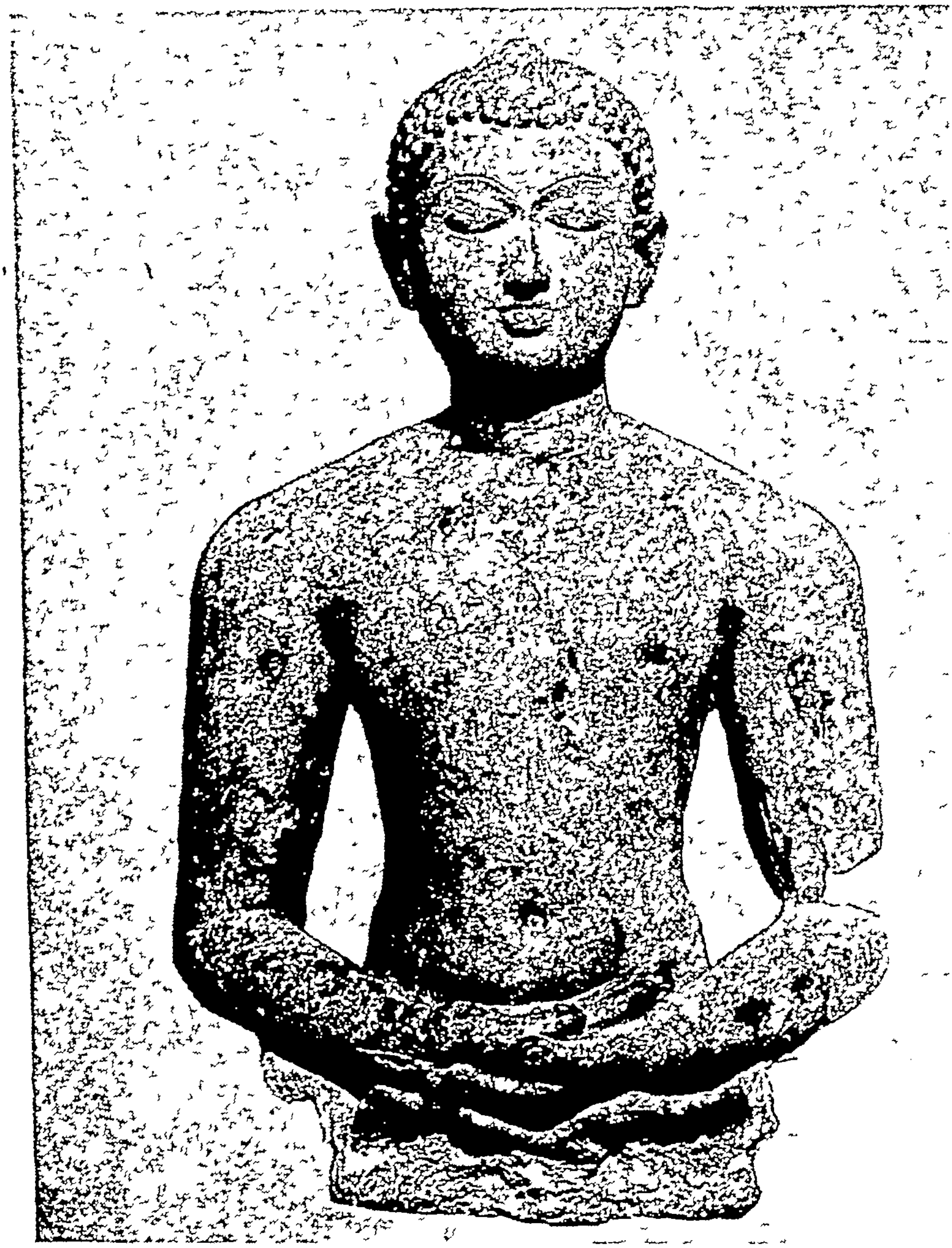
Archaeological explorations in different parts of Rajasthan have thrown a flood of light on the ancient sculptural achievement and iconography of Rajasthan In the realm of Jain art, of course, nothing is so far known which may be datable before the 7th Century A D The Pindwada (near Vasantgarh, district Sirohi) hoard of Jain bronzes has furnished two big free standing Tirthankara images in *Kayotsarga* pose, one representing Adinatha with traces of hair locks falling on the shoulders and measuring about 42 inches in height According to an inscription of V S 744 on the pedestal of another image, it was cast by Sivanaga in 687 A D for the spiritual benefit of acquiring right knowledge, right action and right faith These two bronzes were prepared by the sculptor named Sivanaga who was elevated to the status of Brahma These early Rajasthani bronzes have got an important bearing on the early Jain sculptural art of the region [1] The Vasantgarh group of Jain images also contains some other bronzes, noteworthy being that of goddess Saraswati,[2] holding a lotus stalk in her right hand and the manuscript in the left The crown of the Devi is elaborate, with a sun disc atop and *makara* head on either side The halo in the form of dotted rim, reminds us of similar halos from north and western India This bears close affinity with a some what contemporary specimen from Ankota and now preserved in Baroda Museum The Vasantgarh Saraswati bronze, under review, is the earliest extant representation of the Goddess of Learning in the Rajasthan metal sculpture

Mention may also be made of a Hindu goddess, probably Gauri or Parvati in the Vasantgarh Hoard, she is accompanied, by a bull

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1 U P Shah, *Lalita Kala* Nos 1 2 1956, pp 65 ff, plate IX, figs 1-2

2 *Ibid*, p 61, plate XV, figure 15



Bronze Image of Mahavıra,
Ahar Museum, Udaıpur



Kuber, Udaıpur
Museum, Udaıpur

which suggests her Saiva associations It is decided of a later date, end of 8th or early 9th Century A D The Vasantgarh hoard also contains some Jain bronzes of the 8th Century as also in the Ankota Hoard To this may be added a few pieces from Bhinmal, in Jalore district of Rajasthan Noteworthy are also a dozen bronzes from Amarsar and now preserved in Bikaner Museum This group also preserves a Chowrie-bearer[3] which from artistic point of view, is sufficiently attractive and important

Ahar (Aghatapura, near Udaipur) seems to have been a great centre of Jain art during the mediaeval period It was here that the famous Jain grantha[4] *'Sravaka Prati Kramana Churni'* was painted in the 13th Century It was here at Ahar that an early mediaeval bronze was unearthed about 30 years ago Now preserved in the Archaeological Site Museum of Ahar, it is more than life size in height and depicts a seated Tirthankara in meditative pose [5] Rajasthan is equally rich in mediaeval Jain bronzes which are mostly under worship in different Jain Temples It was during the 15th Century that Dungarpur town, in South Western Rajasthan, became a famous centre of metal casting when the local *sthapatis* executed colossal Jain images including some inscribed pieces which are now under worship in the Jain Temple at Achalgarh on Mt Abu The names of the sculptors are also inscribed on these particular bronzes

It was from Jagat (district Udaipur) that we brought to Pratap Museum, Udaipur a 5th century statue of headless Ambika carved out of the local greenish-blue schist (i e *pareva*) [6] The goddess carries a bunch of mango-twigs in the right hand and holds a baby to her lap with the left, thus testifying to her mother aspect But the utter absence of any Jain emblem fails to locate her religious association On the other hand, the inscribed slab of V S 918 in the niche of *Mata Ji Ki Sala* at Ghatiyala (district Jodhpur) decidedly depicts Jain Ambika on the remaining portion of the slab itself The goddess takes her seat on the lion This is a very interesting Pratihara Jain sculpture from Ghatiyala though her representation elsewhere in Rajasthani art is so well known to art historians

3 V S Srivastava, *Catalogue and Guide to G G J Museum, Bikaner*, 1961 61, plate IV

4 This is now in Museum of Fine Arts at Boston

5 R C. Agrawala, *Sculptures from Udaipur Museum*, 1960, Jaipur, plate XXXI

6 *Ibid*, Plate II

The Mahavir Temple at Osian (district Jodhpur) is one of the superb specimens of 8th Century Built during the regime of Pratihara Vatsaraja, it preserves a number of *Vidya Devis* on the exterior walls including chakresvari An elegant 8-9th century sculpture of this goddess has recently been discovered at Weir in district Bharatpur Two marble statues of Jain Saraswati from Pallu in district Bikaner are world famous One of them is exhibited in the National Museum at New Delhi and the other in the Bikaner Museum Both of them are superb specimens of early Chauhana art in Rajasthan

The Akota Hoard of Jain bronzes also includes a super image of *Jivantaswami* showing 'Mahavir as a Prince but meditating in his own palace He has got a crown on his head in such images The cult of this aspect of Mahavir seems to have been quite popular in Jodhpur region from 9th to 11th Century A D A ninth century bronze from Jodhpur and two mediaeval stone images at Sirohi are very important relics in this connection In all of them, the Tirthankara is standing in *Kayotsarga posture* and has got a crown on the head [7] A first rate life size statue, datable to 10-11th century from Khimvsar[8] (district Nagaur) and now in Jodhpur Museum also depicts, Mahavir as a Prince [9] This *Jivantaswami* sculpture is very well preserved and the execution is equally superb

The seulptural wealth at Osian, Abaneri and Didwana includes a few Yoga Narayana images, all of datable to the 8-9th Century and depicts Vishnu in meditating pose, the lower two hands are placed in *baddhanjali* pose whereas the upper ones carry the garland instead of the weapons of Vishnu It appears that these were carved under some Jain impact with the result that even the non-*Vaishnavas* might also be in a position to worship this type of images depicting mediating aspect of the deity No such *dhyana* in the *Silpa* texts is, of course, available so far All the more, these images have till now been procured at Pratihar centres of Jodhpur region Of this group, one elegant specimen of black stone from Didwana is now exhibited in Sardar Museum at Jodhpur The entire composition in the statue gives some Jain appearance It was no wonder if such

7 U P Shah, *Journal of Indian Museums*, XI, 1955, pp 49 60, figures 1 3,

8 R C Agrawala, *Brahma Vidya* (*Adyar Library Bulletin*), XXII pp 32-34 and plate

9 R C Agrawala, *Journal of Indian Museums*, X, pp 21-22, figure 5

Sarvatobhadra Pratima,
Bharatpur Museum Bharatpur





Jevanta Swami Pratima
Sardar Museum, Jodhpur

statues were inspired by Jainism, The entire problem of course needs detailed scrutiny before any view is hazarded with a definitive

The Pratap Museum at Udaipur is so well known for the rare statue of Jain Kubera-the presiding deity of wealth and riches Datable to the 8th Century, it is carved out of the greenish blue schist Discovered at Bansi,[10] in district Chitor, the seated deity therein holds a citron fruit in the right hand and money-bag in the left The couchant elephant is shown below Above the curly hair of Kubera is an attractive crown studded with a miniature figure of seated Jina and another likewise still above, thus testifying to the Jaina aspect of the deity These miniature *Jinas* are hardly to be seen in the Brahmanic image of Kubera[11] in Udaipur Museum itself The Jain Kubera from Bansi is thus a very important Jain sculpture from South Western Rajasthan

Sarvatobhadra Adinatha, from Bharatpur Museum, is equally important from iconographic point of view Here the standing deity is to be seen on all the four sides in strict accordance with the Jain tradition of *Samvasarana*, so that he could be seen by the debvotees from all the soides Most interesting is that the cardinal directions here present the s.me deity, he has got matted locks on the head, the nudity suggests Digambara[12] leanings In fact in early Jaina art of Mathura, we do not come across the same deity on the sides in the *Sarvatobhadra* statues whereas the Bharatpur Museum specimen truly justifies the textual details In fact none of the Museums in Rajasthan has got such an interesting *Sarvatobhadra* image

The worship of goddess Mahishamardini by the Jain community in Rajasthan, during the 18th Century, is very well proved by an inscribed white marble image of the *Devi* combating the buffalo-demon, now preserved in Jodhpur Museum, the inscription of V S 1237 on its pedestal clearly refers to her appelation as *Sachchika* instead of Mahishamardini It is also stated therein that it was installed by a lady who was the Chief of the Jain nuns This is further is specifically stated that Jain Acharya Ratna Prabhu Suri had converted the fierce *devi* Mahishamardini to the Jain pantheon but under

10 R C Agrawala, *Sculptures from Udaipur Museum*, 1960, plate X

11 *Ibid*, plate IX

12 R C Agrawala, *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona-Switzerland, XXII (3) 1959 pp 205-7, figure 6

the name of Sachchika, who is none else but *Sachiya Mata* who is still worshipped in a contemporary temple at Osian itself The sanctum of this edifice at Osian preserves images of Bhairava, Sitala, Chamunda on the sides whereas the principal back niche contains a contemporary image of Mahishamardini who is praised as Sachchika Devi in the inscription of V S 1234 on the same slab This proves beyond doubt that the Jains had accomodated worship of Mahishamardini under the garb of Sachchika without changing her Brahmanic attributes This is equally referred to in the inscription of V S 1337 engraved on the pedestal of a Ganesa image now under worship in the Jain temple at Lodrava in Jaisalmer district

The above Jain images from Rajasthan are therefore very important additions to the Jain iconography of India in general and that of Rajasthan in particular

13 R C Agrawala, *Ibid*, XVII, 1954, pp 232-34 and figure on p 233

NEELIMA VASHISHTHA*

A NOTE ON THE COLOSSAL JINA IMAGE OF GARH

The tradition of representing the *Jina-Tirthankaras* in colossal size was in vogue during the 10th and 11th centuries in India A number of colossal images, though varying in height, are found in Bihar,[1] Madhya Pradesh,[2] Rajasthan and South India Among them the highest is the famous image of *Bahubali* also known as *Gommatesvara*[3] in *Sravana-Belgola* in the south Kanara district of Mysore state This image was set up in the reign of the Ganga king—Rajamalla by Chamunda Raya between 974-84 A D [4] Other statues of *Bahubali* are also found in the villages of Enur and Karkala in the district of South Kanara [5] Another 57 feet high image of a *Tirthankara* is carved on the rocks of the fort of Gwalior All these images are alike and remarkable for their colossal height They are represented standing in the *Kayotsarga mudra* Except for their nudity and the mark of *Srivatsa* on the chest, they are very much like the Buddha images In fact, it is not possible to identify the

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1 An image of *Tirthankara* is found at Pakbira in the Manbhuma district, Bihar See, P C Roy Choudhury, *Jainism in Bihar*, Patna, 1956, pl no 6

2 The image of *Tirthankara* which is 12 feet in height is found at Gandhavala in the Devas district (Madhya Pradesh) For details see, S P Gupta and B N Sharma, "Gandhavala aur Jaina Murtiyan" (in Hindi), *Anekanta*, XIX (1-2), 1966 67, p 129 and plate I fig 1

3 In South India the colossal images of the saints were also made and worshipped like the *Tirthankaras*, because it was believed that any purified soul could attain the similar status as that of the *Tirthonkaras*

4 R Narasimhachar "Sravana Belgola", *Quarterity Journal of the Mythic Society* XIII, 1922, p 436, See also, J S F Mackenzie, "Sarvana Belligola", *Indian Antiquary*, II, 1873, pp 129 and 265-322

5 A C Burnell, 'On the colossal Jain Statue at Karakala " *Indian Antiquary* II, 1873, pp 353 4

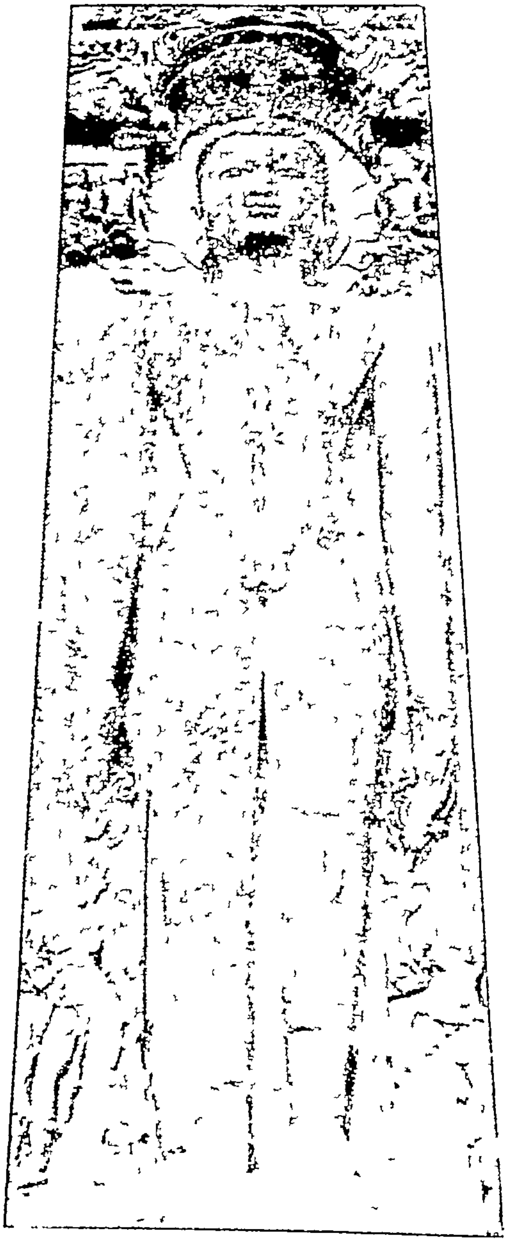
Jinas from their earliest images It is only through the inscriptions and by the later iconographical developments that they were begun to be distinguished from each other They were distinguished specially from the particular cognizances and the pair of *Yaksa* and *Yaksini* assigned as attendants to them The pair of the attendants and the cognizances prescribed for each *Tirthankara* by the Jain iconographic texts were not invariably carved by the sculptors

It is because of this reason that sometimes the images do not bear any identification mark to differentiate them as to which *Tirthankara* they symbolize This similarity in disposition of the *Tirthankaras* was not due to any ignorance on the part of the sculptors It was, on the contrary, due to the influence of the Jaina philosophy and their concept of the god, which was translated in the visual substance of stone According to the Jaina philosophy all the spirits are alike, and the emancipated soul is that which is free from all worldly desires, passions and sufferings, and should always be peaceful and tranquil As the emancipated souls are alike, there remains nothing to differentiate between them This is the highest ideal of the Jaina doctrine Influenced by this the worshipper accordingly evolved the idol of *Jina* and sought the personification of all those higher qualities in him which he craves to attain In order to represent the emancipated soul, which is above all the human sufferings, the image of the *Tirthankara* was carved bigger than the life size On the faces of all these images the serene expression and tranquility of the soul are remarkably reflected They also denote the adoration and awe which every *Sravaka* (lay follower) felt for the *Tirthankara*

The representation of Mahavira or other *Tirthankaras* was not based on the physical likeness but on the *laksanas* of a *Mahapurusa* For instance, Varahamihira refers to the image of *Arhat* as young, handsome, with a calm disposition, arms reaching down the knees, and having a *Srivatsa Chinha* on the chest [6]

As the colossal images were carved to show the emancipation of the soul, the artist attempted to achieve three ideals in the colossal images (i) loftiness, (ii) real beauty and (iii) the supernatural power of the soul It was a challenge to the artist It is evident from many of the colossal figures of the *Tirthankaras* that in order to achieve one ideal, the sculptor failed to represent the others in the image

6 *Brihat Samhita*, ch 58, vs 45



Colossal Image of Mahavira
at Garh (Alwar)

When an image is very lofty, it may not have beauty, or while having both loftiness and beauty it may lack in the supernatural power of the soul In order to have all at a time in one image the artist in some instances have sacrificed a bit of loftiness The colossal image of *Jina* carved at the fort wall of Gwalior is very high but it lacks the beauty of inner tranquillity The colossal images of *Tirthankara* at Gandhavala (Devas, M P) and Garh (Alwar, Rajasthan) lack loftiness but are remarkable for serene expression and beauty

I

The colossal image of *Tirthankara* at Garh (Alwar) does not lack the majestic expression and beauty though it is lesser in height in comparison with the colossal images in other parts of India This ruined temple of *Tirthankara* is a part of the group of eighteen temples of Paranagar, which is known at present as Garh or *Nilakantha* near Alwar The site of Paranagar was also known as Rajyapura in the ancient times [7] Rajyapura was the capital of the Bargujara chiefs At present it is a village known as Rajorgarh at a distance of two miles from these temples The group of temples at this place consists of both the Jaina and the Brahmanic temples Amongst them the temple of *Nilakantha* is the only one which is intact to some extent and the remaining ones are in a dilapidated condition The colossal image of *Tirthankara*, which is locally known as the *Nowgaza* is placed in a ruined temple at Garh The image is nude and stands erect in the *Kayotsarga mudra* with serene expression and a smile Specially the inner peace and tranquillity reflected in this image have made it more akin to the Buddha images of the Gupta period The face of this image resembles so much the face of Buddha in expression that some scholars like Bharatendu Harishchandra overlooked its nudity and committed the mistake of identifying it as a statue of Buddha [8] The image is carved on a pink sandstone, which adds a peculiar grace to the statue The figure of *Jina* is 13′ 9″ high with a canopy of 2′ 6″ over its head The canopy consists of three parasols which are supported by two elephants The whole height of the sculpture is 16′ 3″ and its breadth 6 feet as was measured by Cunningham [9] The image stands at present in the *mandapa* of the ruined

7 *Indian Archaeology A Review*, 1961-62, p 85

8 R L Mitra, 'Donative Inscription from Rajaurgarh near Alwar', *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1879, p 158

9 A Cunningham, Report of the Tour in Eastern Rajputana, *A S I*, Vol XX, 1885, p. 125

Jaina temple The excavation work done by the Department of Archaeological Survey of India during the years 1959-60 has exposed to view the *jagati* of the main temple and the subsidiary shrines. The image was so significant and popular that the city was called as Parsavanagar or Paranagar in the medieval times [10]

A number of Jaina sculptures and inscribed images of other seated *Tirthankaras* were also found They are now preserved in the store of the Archaeological Survey of India at the *Nilakantha* temple With the help of these fragmentary records the date of the temple and the images,and the extant of Jainism in this area could be known with out much difficulty An inscription of V S 979 (923 A D) of the reign of the local ruler *Savata* mentions the construction and installation of the image of Santinatha in Rajyapura by the Jaina architect, *Sarva-deva* [11] The stone bearing this inscription was found from this temple From this it becomes clear that the consecration ceremony referred to in this inscription was of the temple where this image stands Therefore, 923 A D is also the date of the installation of this colossal image as it is the principal image of this temple Savata and his son Mathanadeva were the Hindu feudatory chiefs of the Gurjara Pratihara, dynasty ruling at Kanauj [12] The other inscribed images also indicate that the temple was in actual worship till the end of the 13th century A D There is also an inscribed image of Mahavira in *Yogamudra* in black stone which was installed in one of the subsidiary shrines of the temple in V S 1203 (A D 1146) Another image of Padma Prabha was consecrated in this temple in V S 1310 (A D 1253) It shows that the Jainism was flourishing in this part of the Rajasthan during this period

10 K C Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan*, Motilal Banarsidass Delhi, 1972, p 195

11 *Indian Archaeology A Review*, 1961-62, p 85.

12 F Kielhorn, "Inscription of Mathanadeva V S 1016", *Epigraphia Indica* III, pp 263-67

CHANDRAMANI SINGH*

AN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT FROM MALAVADESA DATED V S. 1820

Sri Mahavir Digambar Jain Atisaya Kshetra Bhandar has recently acquired a profusely illustrated manuscript, which is lent by Sri Kesarimalji Gangwal of Bundi[1] (Figs 1&2) The manuscript deals with various *kathas*—stories, related with religious days of a year and modes of worship, their importance etc in both Svetambara and Digambara sects of Jainism It also contains prayers to Sri Santinathji and other Jain pontiffs The book is written in Nagari characters but in three languages—Sanskrit, Maru-Gurjar and old Hindi of 18th century The format of the book is 30 8 X 23 cm consisting 34 to 36 lines in a page Its folios are sewn in the form of a book which is almost intact except a few pages [2] The manuscript consists 117 pages out of which ten have full page illustrations and fifty five pages are partly illustrated—sometimes three quarters of the page and sometimes half or quarter according to the subject matter The book begins with a prayer to Sri Santinath the sixteenth *Tirthankara* and is written in characteristic red and black inks Being a conventional religious text it does not display much literary merit but can be considered as a good work of art for its paintings.

Presumably the text was written in three different stages as the manuscript bears three dates V S 1820, 1821 and 1846 (A.D 1763, 1764 and 1789 respectively)

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1 I am grateful to Dr Kasturchandji Kasliwal for his kind permission and all the help Dr Kasliwal informs me that Sri Kesarimalji purchased a number of loose illustrated folios from a paper merchant and got them bound

2 Pages are not arranged correctly

"इति श्री आदित्यष्टत्र आदित्याष्टक वडी कथा सरण स १८२१ ?" on page no 191
—Here ends the Adityashtaka . *Samvat* 1820 (A D 1763)

"इति श्री सामायाक सम्यक् पाठ सपूर्ण । सवत १८२१ प्रवर्त्त मालव देसे"—on page no 111
—Here ends Sri samayaka path In the current *Samvat* 1821 in Malavadesa (A D 1764 in Malavadesa)

"इति चोसी तीशकर रो तवन सपुरण सवत १८४६" on page no 118
—Here ends the hymn to the twenty four Tirthankaras—*Samvat* 1846 (A D 1789)

An examination of these three colophons and two different sets of hand-writings point to the fact that the work was executed at two stages The ch ice of themes indicates that all were probably prepared for the same owner It is possible that the owner of the book who commissioned this work in V S 1820 thought to add some more pages a year later in V S 1821 and some more after twenty five years in V S 1846 Two colophons do not mention the place of execution but the one on page 111 reads, "*Samvat* 1821 *pravarta Malavadesa*" A D 1763 in Malwa Malwa region which includes western part of modern Madhya Pradesh and eastern Rajasthan was a centre of art and learning from ancient times Some earliest dated Jain manuscripts are known from that area,[3] and it is not surprising that such a richly painted book was executed there in 18th century

Though the manuscript was found at Bundi and one of the colophon says that it was prepared at Malavadesa, the paintings themselves speak something else In workmanship, colouring, landscape, architecture and physical type, they are more closely related to the Mewar style of Maharana Ari Singh II period (1761-1773 A D) Both male and female types as well as several compositional features are derived from portraits of Ari Singh II in which he is depicted watching dance performances or sitting with courtiers or with ladies in zanana The characteristic compositions, namely the devotees performing *Arati* and "Gundhar in his palace" have their origin in 18th century Mewar paintings Stylized tree forms and typical mango and banana trees of Mewar can be seen in these paintings

3 Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, 'A Consideration of an Illustrated Ms from Mandapadurga (Mandu) Dated 1439 A D ", *Lalita Kala*, No 6, pp 8-29



An illustration showing Abhisheka from a MSS from Malavadesa



An illustration showing Kalyanadiksha from a MSS from Malavadesa

The costume types, as displayed in this manuscript, are of later Mughal type, commonly found in the Mewar paintings of that period–round skirt flowered or striped *jama* coming upto knee and *patakas* with floral designs at the ends Women are dressed in their characteristic Rajasthani *ghaghara* mostly striped and *odhani* Only priests in the temple are shown wearing *dhotis* which are either coloured or white Transparent *jama* of Shah Jahan period also appears once in a while for example a devotee wearing white transparent *jama* is shown performing *Arati* Curiously enough palanquin bearers wear a different type of costume short striped pyjamas and short *jamas* unlike others which go upto knee Probably it was working dress

Colours, though coarsely applied, are warm The prevailing colour scheme is bright red, green, yellow, blue and chocolate Mixed shades of mauve, light brown and orange are also popular, Glowing yellow is used for golden palaces while deep red and chocolate make background for the indoor scenes Sometimes houses are also painted with white to indicate marble architecture In this manuscript we find the convention of representing water with white lines on blue ground Gold is used to indicate ornaments

Though the representation of Tirthankaras and other religious figures are conventional, the artist has expressed his ideas freely in the selection of subject to illustrate various aspects of Jain principles for example *Dasa Guna*—ten virtues, *Atharaha Dosh*— eighteen vices etc An illustration showing *Kshama*—pardon can be cited here In this painting a European is shown beating an Indian who does not react The note on the picture, in local dialect, reads, "फिरगी भला आदमी कू उपद्रव करै"—a foreigner giving trouble to a gentleman Likewise, the anger is depicted as *Agni*—the fire According to Jainism one should not get angry thus the painting shows a man pouring water on fire Hoarding of wealth, is prohibited in Jainism and to illustrate this principle our Malwa artist paints a man taking water out from the well, to indicate that one should not hoard wealth but donate it for good cause

Besides the iconographical types necessitated by the text the artist has freely painted scenes from life Men and women engaged in *puja*, walking, riding, talking and life in the city and palaces—are all results of the artists' observation All forms depicted in this text are taken from the common life in the Malwa region Models for the

Lord Mahavira's residence were provided by the local marble palaces, Brick architecture, often depicted, are painted with Indian red Similarly the nobility of the Malwa region can be seen in the form of *Rajas* and *Ranis* mentioned in the text

The importance of the manuscripts lies in the lively illustrations and a comparatively less known subject in which we find departure from traditional themes of *Kalpasutra, Uttaradhyayan Sutra* and *Kalkacharya Katha* etc

It seems that Jain religious painting took a new turn in 18th century and many of these texts dealing with various *kathas* were illustrated The conventional themes —*Kalpasutra, Uttaradhyayan Sutra* and *Kalkacharya Katha* were not much in demand It would be interesting to mention another illustrated text dated V S 1830 (A D 1773) in the collection of a Jain temple at Jaipur This well preserved text was executed at Bharatpur and deals with *Bhaktamara padas* It is in excellent condition and once a year the authorities of the temple take out the book and show to the followers of the faith and read out the text to explain the illustrations This manuscript is painted in a style closer to eighteenth century Jaipur, in its enamel like colours and profuse use of gold

KRISHNA DEVA*

MALA DEVI TEMPLE AT GYARASPUR

This temple, picturesquely perched on the slope of a hill, is a towering landmark at Gyaraspur which is a place of considerable archaeological interest, situated 24 miles north-east of the district town of Vidisha in Madhya Pradesh Partly rock-cut and partly structural, this temple stands on a large terrace cut out of the hill-side and strengthened by a massive retaining wall

The mature decorative and architectectural motifs combined with the fairly developed iconography of this temple would indicate a late ninth century date for this building which marks the culmination of the Pratihara architectural style of central India

Like the Bajra Math of Gyaraspur, this temple was hitherto supposed to have been originally a Brahmannial temple, later appropriated for Jaina worship It was erroneously believed that the loose Jaina images, of which there is a plethora in this temple, were all planted there, as in the Bajra Math Even if the testimony of the loose Jaina images be discounted, the overwhelming evidence of the built-in images outlined below, leaves no doubt that it was a Jaina temple

Except for a frieze showing Ganesa, Virabhadra, and the Seven Mothers occurring in the interior, there is a complete absence of purely Brahmanical deities There are reasons to believe that Ganesa and the Seven Mothers had lost their exclusive sectarian character in the mediaeval period Jinas are prominently represented on the architraves of the doorways of the sanctum and the inner ambulatory Yaksi Cakresvari occurs conspicuously on the *lalata-bimba* of the

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mandapa doorway This is extremely significant. Cakresvari-and-Ambika Yaksis and seated Jina figures occur in niches on the roof-pediments of the *mandapa* in the north as well as in the south faces The built-in niches in the deep recesses flanking the *bhadras* of the sanctum facade invariably show representations of Dharanendra Yaksa and Padmavati Yaksi

The Temple faces east and is a *sandhara prasada* consisting of an *ardha-mandapa* (entrance porch), *mandapa, antarala* and a sanctum with an ambulatory The sanctum is crowned by a lofty *sikhara* of the curvilinear form, capped by an *amalaka* and a *kalasa*

EXTERIOR

The exterior of the temple is exquisitely carved with figures and designs in relief The larger niches, crowned by elaborate *udgamas* or pediments of *caitya*-arches, the smaller niches, surmounted by tall pediments decorated with a mesh of *caitya-gavaksas* and the projecting balconies which are also crown by a pediment of *caitya*-arches, form the most conspicuous ornamentation of the elevation Added to this are the interesting panels of figure reliefs, scrolls and other decorative designs occurring on the basement mouldings The basement shows the usual mouldings of *khura, kumbha, kalasa,* occasionally relieved with interesting faces (usually carved on two adjacent angles) and scrolls in relief, *antara-patra, kapotali* carved with *caitya*-arches in relief, *chadya* moulding containing occasional niches with figure sculptures From the basement mouldings project six niches on the southern side and two on the front or eastern side Each niche is crowned by a pediment of *caitya-gavaksas,* those occurring below the *asanapatta* of the balconies with the *kaksasanas* being more elaborate than others The balconies have the usual components, but are mainly decorative Their *jalaka*-windows admit extremely insufficient light and do not serve an effective functional purpose

The figures carved on the niches of the facades comprise Dikpalas and Jaina Yaksas and Yaksis, while the relief panels show human faces and scrolls Most of the decoration of the elevation consists of architectural motifs like the *caitya-gavaksa* and miniature shrine and this is one of the rare temples where such motifs have been used with great decorative effect There are in, all, six projections on

the southern facade, three larger and three smaller, all being embellished with niches

The *sikhara* is of the *pancaratha* type but it has neither the elegant proportions nor the soaring character of the Khajuraho temples and is rather squat with a marked triangular appearance It is *navandaka, i e*, clustered by eight minor *sikharas* and is somewhat similar in design to the *sikhara* of the Siva temple at Kerakot in Kutch It is marked by six *bhumi-amalakas* and is decorated with a mesh of *caitya-gavaksas*

The *sukanasika* is only partly preserved and has lost the crowning figures of the lion The pyramidal roofs of the *antarala, mandapa* and *ardha-mandapa* together with a large portion of the internal ceilings are also badly damaged But from what has survived there is no doubt that the roof of the *mandapa* consisted of *pidhas* decorated with *caitya-gavaksas,* alternating with recessed courses, carved with *ratna-patta*

South facade

This is the best preserved and gives an idea of the original design This had three balconies and each balcony had a niche on the basement The niches on the two eastern balconies are more elaborate with ornate pediments, while the niche on the balcony of the sanctum is rather shallow The buttresses flanking the balcony-projections have a vertical row of two niches, one on the *jangha* and the other on the basement at the same level with the niches below the balconies The pilasters of these niches are decorated with scrolls, *kirttimukhas* and vase-and-foliage designs Some of the pediments of the niches were surmounted by lions seated on haunches

Balconies

In the balcony-projections the *vedika*-moulding shows two rows of miniature shrines alternating with a chess-design The *asana-patta* is decorated with crolls and is surmounted by a frieze of lotus petals The *kaksasana* has slabs of lotus scrolls alternating with three vertical shafts relieved with bead-design The lintel and the architrave of the balcony-projections are decorated with chess-pattern The surmounting frieze which serves as *chadya* moulding is decorated with half-faces of *kirttimukhas* showing ears and in some cases, horns

Roof-niches

Between the two eastern balcony-projections of the south facade the last course of the roof shows a niche containing an image of eight-armed Cakresvari seated on *garuda* The goddess carries *pasa*, an indistinct object, and *vajra* in the right hands, and *vajra*, an indistinct object, and *cakra* in the left hands the fourth being broken[1] This figure is flanked on each side by a female attendent In the proper left niche occurs a seated Jina, while in the right niche occurs Ambika Yaksi seated in *lalitasana* and carrying a child.

On the corresponding north, side, the roof niches show Cakresvari Yaksi, flanked by female attendants which are now defaced On the proper right occurs a seated Jina, while on the left occurs Ambika-Yaksi seated in *lalitasana* This is an exact replica of what we have on the south face A little above this niche we have a seated Tirthankara in a niche flanked by attendants in the side niches

OUTER NICHES

The outer niches are now described from the south-east in the order of *pradaksina*

East face

Niche I on the south-east corner of the *jangha* shows an eight-armed goddess seated in *lalitasana* on a lotus, below is represented a bird mount with two heads, one regardant and the other looking down The right hands of the goddess hold a tapering object which may be a *gada*, (the second is broken), lotus flowers and *cauri*, while the left hands carry *cauri*, flag, (the third is broken) and bow Is she Padmavati Yaksi riding *kukkutahi* ?

South face

Niche II on the *jangha* shows a four-armed goddess seated in *lalitasana* on a lotus, carrying sword, *cakra*, shield, and *sankha* Elephant mount is depicted below the lotus-seat Is she Purusadatta, the *yaksi* of the fifth Tirthankara ?

All the six principal niches (Niches III—VIII) on the south facade are empty But there were minor niches in the deep recesses, flanking the *bhadras* (main projections) of the sanctum on each side.

1 The attributes are reckoned clock-wise starting from the lower right hand,

These invariably show representations of Dharanendra Yaksa and Padmavati Yaksi The niche on the eastern recess of the *bhadra* on the south side contains an image of standing Dharanendra Yaksa which corresponds with the Padmavati Yaksi on the north face in an identical position This Yaksa is two-armed and carries an indefinite object in the right hand and a water-vessel in the left

The adjoining lateral faces of the recess also show figures in miniature niches The western miniature niche shows an image of a goddess seated in *lalitasana* on a crocodile, carrying *varada, abhaya, nilotpala* and water-vessel, while the niche on the eastern face shows an eight-armed goddess seated in *lalitasana* on a lotus, carrying sword, garland, two indistinct objects in the right hands, and bell, shield a and net-like object, in the left hands, the fourth arm is broken A horse is depicted below the lotus-seat The latter goddess may represent Manovega, the Yaksi of the sixth Tirthankara

The niche on the western recess of the same southern *bhadra* shows two-armed Padmavati Yaksi standing under a canopy of serpenthoods The miniature niches on the adjacent lateral faces also show each an image of a goddess seated in *lalitasana*

West face

Niche IX on the west face is empty, while western niches X-XI like the northern niches XII-XIII, were never built, as the north west corner of the temple consisted of the rocky ledge of the hill Thus on the west face there is only one recess of the *bhadra* with a niche It shows an image of two-armed Padmavati Yaksi standing under a canopy of serpent-hoods, carrying *nilotpala* in the right hand, with the left hand resting over a staff This figure appears to have been painted, as red ochre paint is found sticking to the serpent-hood

In the adjoining miniature niche, which is really the lateral niche of the western *bhadra* we have an image of a four-armed goddess seated in *lalitasana* on a lotus which rests over a crocodile She holds flower in the lower right hand, upper right hand, upper right hand placed on the *simanta,* the upper left carrying mirror and lower left kept over her lap

North face

The first two northern niches, viz niches XII-XIII were never built

The eastern recess of the northern *bhadra,* however, shows an image of two-armed Padmavati Yaksi standing under a canopy of serpent-hoods

Niche XIV on the north projection of the *antarala* shows a standing image of two-armed Kubera, carrying skull-cup and purse, the latter placed on two jars, representing *nidhis* The purse is decorated with floral pattern disposed in vertical registers The god has an oval halo resembling a spoked wheel and wears crown, *kundalas,* torque, *upavita, keyuras,* long *mala,* wristlets and anklets Ram mount is shown on the proper right The god is flanked on the proper right by a standing couple and on the left by a male *cauri*-bearer

In the niche below niche XIV occurs a four-armed standing goddess, carrying *abhaya,* lotus flower, *nilotpala,* and probably a mirror held upside down She wears crown, *kundalas, torque, hara,* wristlets, an under-garment fastened by a belt with jewelled loops and tassels and anklets

Niche XV below the north balcony of the *mahamandapa* shows an image of a twelve-armed goddess seated in *lalitasana* The right hands carry sword, mirror, indefinite object, flower, *cakra* and *vajra* while of the left hands three are broken and two carry lotus flowers, one carries a fruit The goddess wears a flattened head-dress with the *catula-mani* ornament on the *simanta,* two types of *kundalas,* torque, *hara, keyuras,* wristlets, an under-garment fastened by a belt with jewelled loops and tassels and anklets A defaced animal partly resembing a boar is depicted below the lotus seat of the goddess, which is well preserved and has a handsome face

Niche XVI on the north projection of the *mandapa* shows a two-armed image of Indra seated in *lalitasana* over his elephant mount He has an oval halo carved with lotus petals and wears a cylinderical crown (*kirita-mukuta*), *kundalas,* torque, *upavita, keyuras,* wristlets, and anklets The right foot of the god is placed on flower a lotus which rests on a jar He carries a *vajra* in the left hand of which faint traces have survived, while his right hand is broken

Below niche XVI on the basement occurs a niche containing an image of a *twelve-armed* goddess seated in *lalita sana* on a wheeled ironcart (*lohasana*) Of her right hands the first s broken others hold *abhaya, trisula, cakra* and

padma with a handle like stalk, while her left hands carry *parasu, sankha,* shield, bow, and an indistinct object which may be a toilet box, and fruit The goddess wears a *dhammilla*-shaped head-dress with a *mani* on the *simanta, kundalas,* torque, wristlets, undergarment fastened by belt with jewelled loops and anklets A seated devotee carrying offerings is depicted below the seat From the *lohasana* the goddess may be identified as Ajita or Rohini, the Yaksi of the second Tirthankara

In niche XVII, occurring below the north-eastern balcony, is represented a four-armed goddess seated in *lalitasana* on a lotus The head and hands are broken

Niche XVIII or the last niche on the eastern end of the north face contains a four-armed goddess seated in *lalitasana* over a fish She holds *varada abhaya,* net and an indistinct object She may be identified with Kandarpa, the Svetambara Yaksi of the fifteenth Tirthankara who is the only goddess represented in the Jaina pantheon with the fish mount

East face

Niche XIX on the north-east corner of each face of the *jangha* shows the consort of Revanta seated in *lalitasana* She is four-armed and carries *vajra,* standard surmounted by human being the head of which is broken, a net-like object and an umbrella A horse is depicted below the seat. A flying *vidyadhara* is shown over the head of the figure

INTLROIR

The entrance porch or the *ardha-mandapa* is supported on four pillars The ceiling is rectangular with a lenticular compartment of cusped and coiffered design of the *sama-ksipta* variety There is a similar ceiling between the two inner or western pillars of the *ardha-mandapa* and the door--way of the *mandapa*

Mandapa-doorway

The *mandapa* is entered through a large and elaborate doorway It is of the *pancasakha* variety, the *sakhas* containing respectively designs of scrolls, *nagas* in *anjali-mudra mithunas* and two pilasters containing scrolls of different designs, the inner one being stencilled and the outer one in relief The *mithunas* alternate with *bhutas* or

pasa—like design The *lalatabimba* shows an image of Cakresvari riding on *garuda* She is eight-armed and holds spiral lotus-stalk in the lower right hand, the objects in the other right hands being indistinct In three of her left hands she holds lotus, *cakra* and ball-like object which may represent a fruit The door-jambs show at the base figures of Ganga on the left and Yamuna on the right, each river-goddess being flanked by attendants and two *dvarapalas* wearing *kiritamukuta* While two of the *dvarapalas* face east, the remaining two are placed, juxtaposed to each other in the passage of the doorway Ganga is flanked by a female umbrella-bearer and a dwarf female carrying a net suspended from the right hand Above the head of the umbrella-bearer on a lotus-stalk pedestal are seen miniature figures comprising a seated god flanked on each side by a seated attendant and a standing *cauri*-bearer This group is flanked on each side by a *vidyadhara* seated on lotus leaves issuing from the same stalk Yamuna is also flanked by a female figure carrying a large, round ornamental *gada* and a dwarf female carrying a net in her left hand Above the head of the female *gada-bearer* occurs, on a lotus pedestal, a similar group of five figures, the central figure being a sage seated in *padmasana* with the right hand in the *vyakhyana mudra* Above this group occurs a group of *vidyadhara* figures, carrying flute, *vina,* drums and garlands and seated on lotus leaves issuing from the same stalk The door-sill is carved centrally with lotus-stalks entwining dwarf *ganas,* and is also embellished with crocodiles and elephants, symbolising *dig-gajas* On the extreme ends occur a couple of devotees flanked by lions

Mandapa

The *mandapa* is centrally supported on four pillars Its ceiling is octagonal and probably of the *sama-ksipta* variety, consisting of four diminishing courses of *gajatalus* of which only the fringes have survived The lintels and the architraves of the *mandapa* ceiling are decorated with two rows of miniature shrines, which are repeated on the architraves of the *ardha-mandapa* and *antarala* where they alternate with a chess-pattern The inner walls of the *mandapa* are bare, except for two purely decorative blind windows Against the southern wall of the mandapa has been placed centrally

a colossal standing image of Jina flanked by two seated male devotees

Pillars

All the pillars of the interior are alike in shape and design and show a heavy square pedestal, with a male or female (sometimes semidivine) figure in a miniature niche on each side, represented as dancing or carrying umbrella or musical instruments These miniature niches are framed by pilasters and crowned by a small pediment of *caityagavaksas* The shaft of the pillar is square at the lower and upper sections, decorated with boldly executed pot-and-foliage pattern, while the middle section is sixteen-sided, fluted and is ornamented on all or some facets with chain-and-bell design suspended from a *grasapatti* or horizontal band of *kirttimukhas* The pillar capital has several based elements comprising (1) a flattened circular cushion with projections for keeping lamps, or supporting bracket figures, (2) a square abacus decorated with *kirttimukha* and scrolls, (3) an *amalaka*-shaped member, and (5-6) two square diminishing cushions of the ribbed pattern The pillar capitals are surmounted by brackets of curved profile, decorated with *nagas* and *nagis*, in *anjali*, issuing from both outer and inner corners

Antarala

The roof of the *antarala* is supported on two pillars of the same design as described above The narrow ceiling between pillars the *mandapa* and the pillars of the *antarala* is *samatala* and rectangular, decorated with small square panels in two rows showing flying *vidyadhara* couples The ceiling of the *antarala* is similar in design to that of the vestibule of the *mandapa*

Sanctum doorway

The sanctum is entered through a large and elaborate doorway which resembles in general appearance the doorway of the *mandapa* Its lintel, however, is defaced, save a portion in the right hand corner. The two crowning architraves are also worn-out, but the lower one shows a row of nine standing Jina figures in niches, of which the middle one is completely mutilated The doorway is of the *panca-sakha* variety and shows scrolls, *nagas* in *anjali-mudra*, *mithunas* alternating with *bhutas* and *pasa*-design, scrolls and lastly a mean-

dering pattern of creepers, entwining various scenes The meandering pattern is missing on the proper right jamb On the proper left jamb it shows from below (1) an acrobat riding a lion, (2) *vidyadhara* couple, the male holding sword, (3) a group of three devotees, (4) *suparnas* carrying lotus stalk, (5) a bird couple, (6) elephant (7) a *naga* couple, (8) acrobat riding a lion, (9) a human couple, and (10) is indistinct The right extremity of the lintel shows *mithunas* bearing *garlands* and a standing four-armed Vidyadevi holding *varada,* book, book and water-vessel On the corresponding left extremity we find a defaced image of four-armed standing Sarasvati carrying *vina* On the door-jambs occur Ganga and Yamuna, each flanked by a pair of *dvarapalas,* as on the doorway of the *mandapa* The *dvarapalas,* facing east, carry a *gada* in one of their hands

Sanctum

There are only three central pillars inside the sanctum, the fourth being not needed, as the low-rock-ceiling is securely supported in the north-west, on the walls of the sanctum The pilasters are quite plain More than three-fourth of the ceiling of the sanctum is rock-cut, which is further supported by pillars and lintels

Inside the sanctum the main deity now enshrined is a seated mediaeval image of Jina placed on a high pedestal Loose images of one seated and three standing mediaeval Jinas are also kept in the sanctum

Inner ambulatory

The inner ambulatory is entered on each side by a doorway decorated on the lintels and architraves with miniature shrines and figures

The southern doorway of the ambulatory shows on the *lalata-bimba* of its lintel a flying figure of a *vidyadhara* (can he represent *garuda,* the *vahana* of *Cakresvari* ?) with folded hands The architrave surmounting the lintel is elaborate and shows three registers, the lower showing nine standing figures, of which seven are Jinas and two are female devotees The middle register shows four Tirthankaras and the uppermost seven Tirthankaras The door-jambs show river goddesses flanked by *dvarapalas* and surmounted by kneeling *nagas.*

The northern doorway of the ambulatory is similar to the southern one but has some differences The lintel shows the seven Mothers represented as dancing, flanked by Ganesa on the proper left and Virabhadra on the right Starting from the left and we have Ganesa, Camunda, Indrani, Varahi, Vaisnavi, Kaumari, Mahesvari, Brahmani and Virabhadra

The inner ambulatory has three major niches on each side there being an additional niche for the *antarala* on the north and south The central or main niche on each side is larger and is flanked by two minor niches, there being thus a total of six niches on the north and south Each major niche also has a niche on the basement mouldings The main niche on the south shows a seated Tirthankara The main niche on the north is missing but one of the major niches shows Cakresvari Yaksi

2 This article has also appeared in *Shri Mahavira Jain Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, p 260 ff

B L GUPTA*

JAINISM IN EARLY ARCHAEOLOGY

Jainism is a heterodox religion in the sense that it is non-Vedic, ascetic and monastic in character [1] It is supposed to be one of the earliest religions of India Jain traditions speak of twenty-four *Tirthankaras,* but the historicity of the last two only, *i e* Parsva and Mahavira, is proven Mahavira was a contemporary of the Buddha and his *nirvana* took place in 527 B C, Parsva is said to have flourished about 250 years before Mahavira [2]

On the basis of the *Tirthankara* tradition, the ascetic character of the faith and the prevalance of image worship[3] in latter Jainism, scholars tried to push the antiquity of Jainism back to pre-historic times In the present paper we propose to discuss the archaeological antiquities and remains which shed helpful light on the antiquity and development of Jainism in India

The ascetic[4] character of the religion and nude images[5] of

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1 *See*, S B Deo *Jain Monachism* (Deccan College Dissertation Series 17, Poona 1956), p 59, Cf G C Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973) p 315, also H Jacobi 'Some Aspects of Jainism', *Journal of Mahabodhi Society,* Calcutta, Vol XXII, 1914, pp 83-90

2 H Jacobi in *SBE*, Vol XLV, pp xx-xxiii tried to prove the historicity of Parsva on the basis that (I) *Chanyam Dharma* of Nirgranthas has been mentioned in Buddhist Scriptures, (ii) mention of Nirgranthas in the six fold division of mankind by Mahali Goshala, (iii) mention of dispute occurred between the Buddha and Sakdal in *Majjhima Nikaya* and differences between the followers of Mahavira and Parsva frequently mentioned in Buddhist and Jain literature Cf *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, 23, pp 119-129, *Bhagavati Sutra*, I 76, Cf also S B Deo, *op - cit*, p 59 Parsva attained nirvana in 277 B C (Vide *Kalpasutra*, 168-169)

3 Unlike Buddhism it is difficult to ascertain the definite time of the origin of image worship in Jainism

4 It has been pointed out by G C Pande that the anti-ritualistic tendency, within the Vedic folds is itself due to the impact of an asceticism which antidates the *Vedas* (*Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, p 317)

5 Some scholars try to relate *Ajivaka* sect with the Jains B M Barua shows their absorption in Digambara Jainism ('*The Journal of the Department of*

Jinas in *Kayotsarga* posture led some scholars to believe that Jainism existed in India long before Mahavira and Parsva On the one hand its origin, theoretically, could be traced in the 'Sramanic[6] tradition and on the other hand, practically the proto-form of *Kayotsarga* could be visualised in some of the images found from Mohenjodaro and Harappa A few seals discovered from Mohenjodaro[7] show human figures in a standing posture For example on a seal found from Harappa we find in the upper register an ascetic in *Kayotsarga* posture in a jungle who is being worshipped by a lay follower seated beside a bull, and in the lower half again seven figures are standing in the same posture This identification is taken to suggest the existence of Jainism in Harappan times Besides this, a torso found from Harappa,[8] nude and in standing posture lost in mediation, closely resembles the Jain images of the Kusana period

However, it is difficult to accept the above suggestion Firstly in the present state of our knowledge in the absence of decipherment of Indus script nothing can be said with certainty about the real state of their religion Secondly, leaving aside all other factors, in the Harappa male torso, without knowing the actual position of hands, and in persence of two large circular depression on shoulder fronts, how it could be described as *Kayotsarga* posture Actually, the introduction of the Jain image of a *Tirthankara* seems to be a later development No Jain canonical text refers to images or shrines dedicated to any of the 24 Tirthankaras.[9] Scholars are of the opinion

Letters, Calcutta, 1920, pp 1-80) Cf Jacobi, 'Mahavira and his Predecessors' *Indian Antiquary*, Vol IX, 1880, pp 158 163 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p 415 The mention of *sisnadevas* (naked gods) in *RV* (VII 21 5) is also note worthy

6 The *Taittiriya Aranyaka* speaks of *Sramanas* who, called *Vatarasanah* They led a celibate life and were could disappear at will, Cf *Bri Up* 4 3 22, M L Mehta, *Jain Culture*, p 7

7 J Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol III, pl 12-16, 18 Cf Kamala Prasad Jain in *Modern Review*, 1932, p 152

8 Marshall, *op cit*, I, pp 45-46, pl X For its Jain association, see, M L Mehta *Jain Culture* (P V Research Institute, Varanasi, 1969), p 6

9 They mention a number of *Caityas* which were dedicated to *Yaksas* There is a general reference to *arhat caitya* in the *Vyakhya prajnapati* and *Upasukadasa Anga Sutras* The *Jnatadharmakatha* makes a general reference to the worship of Jain images by Draupadi We come across descriptions of eternal images *Sasvata pratimah* in *Rajaprasniya*, *Sthananga* and *Jivabhigama Sutras* (Mehta *op cit*, p 125)

that, at least up to the beginning of the fourth century B C [10] image worship among the Jainas did not become popular

According to traditions it is believed that attempts were made to carve an image of Mahavira even during his life time. A portrait statue of sandal-wood was supposed to have been prepared, when Mahavira was medi'ating in his palace, about a year prior to the final renunciation The statue showed a crown, some ornaments and a lower garment on the person of Mahavira Being *a life time* portrait-statue it was known as *'Jivita-svami Pratima'*[11] The *Vasudeva hindi*,[12] an early text of fourth-fifth century A D, speaks of a *Jivita-svamin* at Ujjain The *Brhatkalpa Bhasya*[13] (c sixth century) also refers to it According to *Avasyaka Curni*[14] this image came in possession of Udayana of Sindhu-Sauvira from whom king Pradyota of Avanti carried it off to Vidisa after depositing an exact wooden copy at Vilabhaya Pattam The copy was later on buried in a sand-storm [15] It was Kumarapala, who had it excavated and brought it to Anhilavada Patan

Until few years back *Jivitasvami* tradition was found in literature only, but recently a bronze image (c 550 A D) has been found from Akola with an inscription on its pedestal revealing it to be an image of Jivitasvami On the basis of this find U P Shah is of the opinion that a sandal wood image was definitely carved in the life time of Mahavira [16] But in our opinion the evidence only indi-

10 Mehta, *op cit*, p 126

11 U P Shah, *Studies in Jain Art*, p , It reminds us of the Bodhisatva images in the Buddhist art of Mathura and Gandhara, clad like a prince

12 Ed Muni Chaturvijaya and Punyavijaya, Bhavnagar, 1930, *Kanda*, 1, Part I, p 61 as quoted by U P Shah in *Jain Art and Architecture* (Delhi, 1975) Vol I, p 86 fn 1 The image is also referred to in the *Avasyaka Curni* of Jinadasa, Ratlam, 1923, II, p 157 Cf also U P Shah 'A Unique Jain image of Jivitasvami', *JOI*, I, 1951-52, pp 72-79

13 III, gatha 3277, pp 917 ff

14 I, pp 397-401 Cf J C Jain, *Life as depicted in Jain Canons*, Bombay, 1947, p 349

15 'An interesting account of these statues is given by Hemachandracarya in his *Trisasti Salaka Purusacarita* which shows that the original image of Vidisa later came to be worshipped as Bhaillasvamin while the copy was burried in a sand storm (as referred by U P Shah in *Jain Art and Architecture*, Vol I, p 86 fn 4)

16 Shah on the basis of Hemachandracarya's evidence says 'If this contemporary account is true, it is difficult to believe that a person of the stature of Hemachandra would have cared to fabricate it or narrate from hearsay, then we have to admit

cates that an image was made on the basis of the description found in the texts somewhere in 550 A D It does not prove the existence of the image in the life-time of Mahavira

According to Jayaswal, Lohanipur nude sand stone torso is the oldest Jain image of a *Tirthankara* in *Kayotsarga* posture belonging to the Mauryan period, as it bears the characteristic Mauryan polish Though a large portion of the two arms of the torso is missing the figure was apparently in *Kayotsarga* pose [17] The modelling of the torso, which is in the round, is fairly naturalistic, bearing the imprint of a master hand' Undoubtedly Mauryan period could be treated as the starting point in the history of Jain art Samprati the grandson and successor of Asoka was very zealous in the propagation of Jainism He is known as great builder of numerous Jain temples No archaeological evidence is, however, available to-day What is available to-day are the caves in Barabar and Nagargunı hills dedicated by Asoka and his grandson Dasaratha to the Ajivikas [18]

In this context mention may be made of another group of caves excavated in the hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri near Bhuvanesvara in Orissa,[19] some time in the Sunga period The two groups consisting of a little over thirty-five excavations were not laid out on a definite and a regular plan, but located at convenient places according to the physical configuration of the rocks A few of them consist of single cells only, or a verandah with cells opening on to them While among others some are double storyed and consist of several cells together with a portico and an openc ourt-yard in front The inner facade consists of door-ways surmounted by semi-circular, arches, above the spaces in between the two arches being covered by

that even during the life time of Mahavira Jain art and Jina worship had spread as far as Sindhu Sauvira' (*Jain Art and Architecture*, p 87)

17 K P Jayaswal, 'Jain Image of Maurya period', *IBORS*, XXIII, 1937, pp 130-132, A Banerji-Sastri, 'Maurya Sculptures from Lohnipur, Patna', *JBORS*, XXVI, 1940, pp 120-124

18 See, V S Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Vol I, p 92 Asoka did not neglect the Nirgranthas as may be gathered from his seventh pillar edict, wherein he says that his *Dharmamahamatyas* were enaged equally among the Sangha, Brahmanas, Ajivikas and Nirgranthas

19 For Udayagiri-Khandagiri caves, see James Fergusson and James Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, pp 58-94 Rajendra Mitra, *Antiquities of Orrissa*, II, Calcutta, 1880, pp 1-46, James Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, pp 9-18, Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khandgiri*, New Delhi, 1960

friezes of sculptures which are the most elaborate in the Ganesa and the Ranigumphas The identification of these caves still remains uncertain The Rani-ka-nur or the Ramgumpha in the Udayagiri is the largest and the best preserved of all the caves It consists of two storeys, each preceded by a verandah supported on pillars A continuous frieze of relief carvings on the facade of the Rani-ka-nur cave at Udayagiri is supposed by some scholars to illustrate incidents in the life history of the 23rd Jain Parsvanatha [20]

These two caves contain a number of sculptured friezes and panels which nevertheless speak of a distinct local or provincial dialect The Manchpuri cave in Udayagiri and Anantagumpha reliefs in Khandagiri are both characterized by a robust vitality and vigorous movements, masses modelled in high relief produce strong contrast of light and darkness The treatment of elephants and foliage are particularly noticeable But the general treatment is coarse and movementless Technically the reliefs are less advanced and isolated and compact figures prevent forceful composition

Unlike the Buddhist caves in Western India these caves are devoid of the Caitya halls All are *Viharas* These caves are supposed to be of Jain origin as on the mouth of Hathigumpha cave we find the inscription[21] of king Kharavela the first king of Mahameghavahana family of the Ceti dynasty, dated around the middle of the second century B C The inscription begins with a Jain way of veneration King Kharavela was himself a Jain and is said to have brought back image of Kalinga Jina from Nandas of Magadha [22] It is not unlikely that this sacred Kalinga Jina image had originally been installed on Udayagiri hill itself and later on after its recovery was reinstalled there by Kharvela [23]

Apart from the *Viharas,* Jainas also erected *pasadas* and, *stupas* Unfortunately not a single ancient monumument of Jainas is now available A number of inscriptions and other sculptural

20 It is noteworthy that the three hooded serpent in the Serpent cave is supposed to represent Parsva

21 See, D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* I, Calcutta, 1955, pp 213-21

22 Barua gives a different version of it, see, *Comprehensive History of India,* Vol II, pp 115 fn

23 Debala Mitra in *Jain Art and Architecture,* Vol I, New Delhi 1975, p 74

and architectural antiquities[24] have been found in Mathura which show that the area known as Kankalitila was the centre of the Jainas from as early as the middle of the second century B C, as an inscription records the dedication of *pasada torana*[25] by Uttaradaska From the sporadic excavations and probings it became clear that one or more *stupas* were also erected by the Jainas An inscription mentions the installation of an image of Arhat Nandiavarta at the Vodva Stupa built by the gods (*devanirmita*) [26] This points to the high antiquity of the original stupa Smith unearthed a brick *stupa* dated in the Kusana period [27] Is there any connection between these two stupas? From the reliefs and from the parts of gateways and railings, it appears that either there was more than one stupa at this site or a single stupa underwent restoration at frequent intervals The earliest, belonging to the Sunga period perhaps illustrated on a base-relief[28] appears as ornamented with a circular ground railing, two intermediate railings and a *harmika* (with a railing and *chatra*) This being worshipped by *suparna* and *kinnaras* may be identified with the 'Devanirmita' stupa Among the various extanct parts of the *torana* and railing are two *torana* pillars and a lintel (carved on two faces) which may have been parts of the aforesaid *stupa* On stylistic grounds V S Agrawala observes the that artisans of Mathura were inspired by the Bharhut proto-types [29] Apart from this, among the available remains, there are two types of railings clearly distinguished from one another The one, which is low carved, might be earlier than the other and might have been part of the oldest *stupa*

24 See, Smith, V, *The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities from Mathura*, V S Agrawala, *Mathurakala*, Vogel, J, *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, and for the inscriptions see, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol II and H Luders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol X

25 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, 1893 94, p 198, Luders, *op cit*, No 93

26 Luders, *Ibid*, No 47, *EI*, Vol II, p 20 According to V S Agrawala 'it points to an extremely early tradition of attributing the *stupa* to a divine origin The brilliant description of the *Vimana* of Suryabhideva in *Rayapaseniya Sutta* has recorded the tradition of an archetypal *devanirmita* stupa Taranath also records a tradition that the Mauryan monuments were believed to be the works of the Yaksas and the art monuments of the preceeding age were the works of the Devas Although there is a mythical element in this description it does give some indication of the high antiquity of the original Jain stupa' (*Indian Art*, p 230),

27 Smith, *op cit*, pl III

28 Lucknow Museum, No 535

29 Agrawala, *op cit*, p 211

of the Sunga period It is full of a lotus design, fabulous animals and fish-tailed monsters which are all in accordance with the account of *Padmavara Vedi*[30] found in the *Rajaprasniya Sutra* of the Jains

In producing of the art monuments in the Kusana period, however, the Jainas built a new *stupa* with lithic *torana* and sculptures on railing pillars A number of specimens, have been found which might have been associated with this *stupa* A number of *ayagapattas*[31] which may or may not have been used in the body in this stupa, also illustrate its outline 'In contrast to the preceding *stupa,* its elongated cylindrical drum is conspicuously high enough to give the *stupa* a somewhat tower like appearance It is in two terraces, both having carved railings around At the crown of the hemispherical dome is a square two barred railing, from the centre of which rears up an umbrella with floating garlands An innovation in this *stupa* is its high platform, presumably square The terrace over the platform served as a processional path It is enclosed by a three-barred railing, the latter pierced by a gateway (*torana*) Access to the terrace from the ground is provided by a balustraded staircase of eight steps right in front of the gateway The facade of the platform is relieved with arched niches simulating *makara torana* and containing standing figures above pedestals The lavishly carved *torana* has an affinity with those of Bharhut and Sanchi It consists of two oblong carved posts supporting three horizontal curviform architraves with ends simulating *makaras* Between the architraves are supporting blocks, while the two rolled ends of the bottom architrave are sustained by two lion-shaped brackets Crowning the top architrave is a honey-suckle motif flanked on either side by a *tri-ratna* (or *nandipada*) symbol, as in the eastern gateway of the *stupa* of Bharhut '[32]

Apart from this reconstruction of Jain *Stupa* in the Kusana period, archaeologically speaking, all the antiquities found from Mathura constitute three groups 1 *Ayagapattas,* 2 Architectural parts of a *torana* or railing and 3 *Tirthankaras* and other images

30 *Rayapaseniya Sutta,* Vaidya (ed), pp 172-73 For illustrations, see Agrawala *Mathurakala,* pl , *Indian Art,* p 222, pl LXIII Smith, *op cit* , pl

31 See, *Journal of U P Historical Society,* XXIII, 1950, pp 69-70, AMM, Q 2 (Lucknow Museum, No J 225)

32 Debalamitra in *Jain Art and Architecture,* Vol I, pp 55-56, and pls I-II

Some of them are inscribed and most of them belong to the Kusana period

Ayagapattas are worshipful stone slabs or *pattas* These slabs were installed in front or round the *stupa* to receive offerings A lumpanum[33] actually illustrates their position Here, four oblong platforms have been shown adjacent to the *stupa* Worshipping of *Silapattas* is an ancient tradition *Mahavamsa*[34] refers to it as *pupphadhana* where *Saddharmapundarika*[35] mentions it as *pushpagrahani Vedika* According to V S Agrawala, 'There are references to *puhumi Sila-patta* in early Jain Agamas (*Aupapatika Sutra*, 5) indicating that originally such slabs for worshipping the deity were made of clay' [36] However, a number of *ayagaptta*s have been found from Mathura and most of them, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum,[37] are assigned a pre-Kaniska date, a few no doubt belong to the Kusana period All these slabs exhibit various symbols like *svastika, triratna, minayugala, srivatsa, purnaghata,* lotus, *Indrayasti, chakradhvaja, Hastidhvaja, Simhadhavaja* etc, which are supposed to be auspicious With these symbols was sometimes found a seated *Tirthankara*[38] figure in the centre Such *ayagapattas* can be treated as transitional between the symbol and image worship

Apart from these *Tirathankara* images on *Ayagapattas*, many independent images have been found from Mathura Some of them are inscribed and bear dates from the 5th year of Kaniska to the 98th year of Vasudeva They are important in the history and development of Jaina iconography They could be classified in four groups (i) Standing in *Kayotsarga* posture, (ii) seated in *padmasana,* (iii)

33 Smith, *op cit*, pl XX.

34 30 51 56

35 239 3 as quoted by Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p 231,

36 Agrawala, *op cit*, p 232 Here mention may be made of the *Pujasila* of Narayana Vatika (D C Sircar, *Select Inscription*, p 90 91), Shah is of the opinion that the precursor of the *Ayagapattas* might have been the *pudhavi Sila patta* placed at the foot of *Vrksa-caityas op cit*, pp 109-12)

37 Lucknow Museum Nos J 248, J 249, J 250, J 252, J 253, Mathura Museum No AMM 48 3424, Q 2, 1603, 2313, Smith, *op cit*, plx VII XIV, CIII, pp 15 20, Agrawala, *Guide to Lucknow Museum*, p 2, 4, and 14, *Journal of U P Historical Society*, Vol XXIII, pp 69 ff, Rapson, 'The Date of Amohini Votive Tablet of Mathura', *Indian Studies in honour of Charles Lunnman*, pp 49 52 Cf for details U P Shah, *op cit*, pp 76 ff

38 Lucknow Museum, No J 250 and Mathura Museum No AMM 47-49

Sarvatobhadra in *kayotsarga* posture and (iv) seated *Sarvatobhadra* images Here, it could be rembered that as far as standing images are concerned the oldest one is of the Mauryan period which was discovered from Lohnipur (Bihar) And among the seated images the *ayagapatta* image should be treated as earliest as it belongs to the Pre-Kaniska age As regards the iconography or identification of *Tirthankaras* the distinguishing *lanchanas* were yet to be evolved. Apart from Parsvanath who is recognised by a canopy of serpent-hoods[39] and Rishbhanath who has some locks of hair[40] falling on his shoulders, it is difficult to identify a *Tirthankara* image in the absence of the inscription which mentions his name

In these images *Tirthankaras* generally appear as robeless, with the *srivatsa* mark on the chest and seated cross-legged with hands in *dhyana-mudra* or standing in *Kayotsarga* pose Some of them present the appearance of shaven heads while the rest have hair rendered in short spiral curls Although it is difficult to trace the origin of *Sarvatobhadra pratima* yet the sacredness of the four *Tirthankaras*–Rishabhnatha, Parsvanatha, Neminatha and Mahavira– may be the main cause of its origin

Among other figures of this period mention may be made of a relief showing Aryavati attended by three women She has generally been identified with Trisala, the mother of Mahavira The other image is that of Sarasvati dated to 54th year of Kaniska

The second group of antiquities of this period bear inscriptions These inscriptions throw a helpful light on the development of contemporary Jain *samgha* The wealth of the opulent mercantile class contributed to a large extent to the prosperity of Jain religion and art Therefore, these inscriptions not only show their dedication towards religion but also unfold the organisation of Jain *Samgha* with its teachers and ascetics grouped in varied *ganas, kulas,* and *shakhas* For example one inscription runs "Success in the year 50 (?), in the 3rd (month of) Summer, on the seven 17th (?) day, on this occasion as specified, the preacher the venerable Datta (who was) the Sraddhacara of the *ganin,* the venerable Pala (who was) the pupil

39 A Ghosh, *op cit*, Vol I, pl 18
40 *Ibid*, pls 46 47

of venerable (Jasuka) (who was the pupil) of the great preacher and ganin Devamitra of the Koliya *gana,* the Brahmadasiya *kula,* the Voce (nagori) *Shakha,* the Srigrha *sambhoga*–at his (i e Siha's) request (this image was dedicated) for welfare and happiness of all beings as the gift of Mitra, the first wife of Haggudeva "[41] All images and other architectural pieces bearing such inscriptions dated to the pre and post-Kusana period are well known and have been published by scholars like Smith,[42] Luders,[43] Agrawala,[44] Lohuizen,[45] Banerjea,[46] Buhler,[47] Dowson,[48] etc

The Jain antiquities belonging to the Gupta period indicate the popularity of Jainism in different parts of India In the Mathura school of sculpture itself a number of Jain images in seated (*dhyanasana*) and standing (*Khadgasana*) poses have been dated to the Gupta period [49] Iconographically, among all these images from Mathura, only a few can be identified as of Adinatha, Neminatha and Parsvanatha Stylistically, as Agrawala[50] observed, some of them represent the transitional stage between Gupta and middle ages

Along with the Mathura images of the Gupta period mention may be made of recently discovered stone images from Durjanpur[51] (Madhya Pradesh) and Rajgir[52] (Bihar) The Durjanpur sculptures

41 Lohuizen, *The Scythian Period*, p 247

42 V A Smith, The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities at Mathura, *ASI*, (*New Imp Series*), Vol XX, Allahabadi, 1901

43 H Luders, A List of Brahmi inscriptions from the earliest times to A D 400, with the exception of those of Asoka, *EI*, Vol X

44 V S Agrawala, *Hand Book of Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura*, Allahabad, 1939

45 J E Van Lohuizen De Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, E J Brill Leiden, 1949

46 R D Banerji, 'Mathura Inscriptions in the Indian Museum', *JASB*, New Series, Vol V, 1909, pp 237-244

47 A Buhler, 'New Jain Inscriptions from Mathura', *EI* Vol I, 1897, pp 371 397, 'Further Jain Inscriptions from Mathura', *EI* Vol II, 1894, pp 195-212

48 J Dowson, 'Ancient Inscriptions from Mathura', *JRAS*, New Series, Vol V, 1871, pp 182-196

49 V S Agrawala, *JUPHS*, Vol XXIII, 1950, pp 52 ff According to N P Joshi, Archaeological Museum of Mathura preserved 38 and Lucknow Museum preserved only 21 images of the Gupta Period (*Jain Art and Achitecture*, Vol s, p 107)

50 *op cit*, pp 55 56

51 G S Gai, 'Three inscriptions of Ramagupta', *JOIB*, Vol XVIII, 1969, pp 247-51, *EI*, Vol XXXVIII, 1970, pp 46-49

52 Cf M H Kuraishi and A. Ghosh, *Rajgir*, Delhi, 1956, p 24, See also R P Chanda, *ASIAR*, 1925-26, Calcutta, 1928, pp 125-126

have their own importance They represent not only the cult images of that period but also furnish some important facts towards Gupta history One of the inscriptions appearing on the pedestals of these images decides the old constroversial question of the historicity of the imperial Gupta king-Ramagupta It informs us that *maharajadhiraja*[53] Ramagupta got these images prepared on the advice of Celuksamana, the good son of Golakyantya and pupil Acarya Sarppasena Ksamana, the grand pupil of Chandra Ksamacarya Ksamasramana who was *panipatrika* As the inscriptions refer Ramagupta, therefore, they should be dated c 370 A D, and should also be treated as the earliest images showing a *Chavari* bearer in their composition Apart from these images it is also important to remember that one of the cave inscription near Vidisa[54] dated in 106 G E also mentions an image of Parsvanatha, perhaps a sculpture in relief which is regarded as lost

The most important Jaina antiquities of the Gupta period are the bronzes, generally found from Causa (Bihar) and Akola (Western India) The Causa bronzes are preserved in the Patna Museum[55] and out of six, two represent *Jina* Chandraprabha two Rishabhadeva and the rest are unidentified All are seated in *dhyanamudra* and bear the *srivatsa* symbol on the chest Apart from iconography, as Misra[56] described, the Chandraprabha images are different from the Rishabhadeva images in composition In these images the *Jina* has been shown seated in "*dhyanamudra* on a rectangular double tiered pedestal, between two ornamental pillars forming a niche The tops of the pillars carry grotesquely designed *makaramukha* Behind his head there is a semicircular *sirsa-cakra* with pellets on its rim, a halo-formation consisting of lotus-petals and a crescent

53 Since Ramagupta is here called *Maharajadhiraja* it is obvious that he was not a small feudatory chief The paleography of these incriptions, suggests a fourth-century date, which makes probable the identification of the ruler with the Gupta ruler Ramagupta, referred to in the *Devichandraguptam* of Visakhadatta as the elder brother of Chandragupta II

54 See, J F Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum, III, Calcutta, 1888, pp 258 ff, Cf R D Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, 1933, pp 104, 106, etc

55 P L Gupta (ed) *Patna Museum Cotalogue of Antiquities*, Patna, 1956 pp 116-17, Cf also, H K Prasad, 'Jain Bronzes in the Patna Museum', *SMJV* Golden Jubilee Volume, 1968, pp 275 83

56 R N Misra in *Jain Art and Architecture*, Vol I, p 125

at the top" The most important feature of the images is that the *Jinas* appear with *usnisa*, long ear lobes and also the *keshavallari* falling on the shoulders as in the Rishabhadeva images

Another group of bronzes comes from the Akola hoard (Gujarat)[57] The Most important feature of these images is that they are not represented as naked but clad in a *dhoti*[58] The best among them, highly mutilated, is of Rishabhanatha All the standard features of the Gupta sculpture–*mahapurusa laksanas* (*usnisa*, *trivali* in the neck, *tanuvrtta-madhya*), half closed silver inlaid eyes–can be seen in this image On stylistic grounds, it is parallel to the Buddha image found from Sultanganj In this hoard, one image, identified as of Rishabhanatha, stands on an extra-ordinary long pedest l which also carries two small *Yaksa* and *Yaksi* image on its corners Shah is of the opinion that there is no literary or archaeological evidence to prove the inclusion of *Yaksa* worship in Jainism before 6th century A D[59] One of the images of the hoard is of Jivantasvami From Valabhi, Bhandarkar also found five bronzes of stauding *Jinas* which are preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum,[60] Bombay

At Sira Pahari,[61] a hill near Nacana (M P) is found a group of Jain sculptures dated to the Gupta period On stylilistic grounds these sculptures indicate transitional stage from the typical Kusana to the classical Gupta type

Although Jain literary traditions[62] of the period describe different types of structures—*Vimana*, palace, *Samvasarana*, pillars etc, with their full decorative details, yet the architectural remains of the Gupta period are scanty Here, mention may be made of Sona-

57 See, U P Shah, *Studies in Jain Art*, 1955, p 16

58 U P Shah, 'The age of defferentiation of Svetambara and Digambara Jain images' *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, I, No 1, 1950-51, pp 30 ff, *Akola Bronzes*, Bombay, 1959, pp 26, figs 8a and 8b

59 U P Shah, in *Jain Art and Architecture*, Vol s, p 136

60 Shah, *op cit*, 1950-61, p 36, *Studies in Jain Art*, fig 29

61 As referred by U P Shah, in *Jain Art and Architecture*, Vol I, p 129, fn 4, Cf also Joahn Williams, Two New Gupta Jina images', *Oriental Art*, XVIII, 4, Winter, 1972, pp 378-80

62 See, *Raypaseniya Sutta*, Cf J C Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons*, p 181, For *Samavasarana* See *Mahapurana* 22 76-312, pp 525-538, *Avasyaka Curni*, pp 324 ff, *Vasudevahindi*, pp 341-45, *Avasyakavti* of Haribhadra, pp 229 ff, *Samvasarana rachanakalpa* of Jina Prabha in *Vividhatirthakalpa* pp 87-88

bhandara caves[63] of Rajgir Earlier, Cunningham[64] had identified the western cave with the *Saptaparni* cave where the first Buddhist council was held Then with the discovery of the eastern cave Beglar[65] suggested them to be of Buddha and his pupil Ananda. Now, Misra[66] has identified them as Jain caves on the basis of an inscription found on the outer wall of the western cave declaring that Muni Vaira 'caused to be made two caves worthy of ascetics, in which were installed the images of *Arhats'* At what time[67] this inscription was engraved is a highly debatable question However, the southern wall of the eastern cave depicts some *tirthankara* sculpture in high relief It is important to remember that the earliest Jina image from the Gupta period, in this region, represents Neminatha in the ruined temple on the Vaibhara hill[68] at Rajgir

Apart from these caves we know about another monument of the period from the copper plate inscription found at Paharpur[69] (dated in G E 159=A D 479) It refers to a *vihara* which was situated at Vata-Gohali, an active centre of Jainism It was subsequently occupied by the great temple and monastic complex of the Buddhists

Conclusion ·

On the basis of above mentioned archaeological accounts it appears that, firstly, the antiquity of Jainism, on literary and doctrinal basis may be traced in the pre-Vedic *shramanic* tradition though archaeology fails to furnish any corroborative proof

Secondly, Jain monuments and find-spots of antiquities indicate the extent of Jainism in different parts of India in different ages Traditionally, in the life time of Mahavira the religious movement was limited upto eastern U P. and Pataliputra According to Jain tradition Bindusara and Ajatashatru, were great

63 Kuraishi and Ghosh, *op cit*, p 26, M H Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of* 1904 *in the Province of Bihar and Orissa ASI*, (New smperial Series), LI Calcutta, 1931, pp 120 ff, figs 80 81

64 *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, III, Calcutta, 1873, pp 140 ff

65 Kuraishi, *op cit*, 1931, p 121

66 T Bloch in *ASI, Annual Report*, 1905 6, Calcutta, 1909, p 96 R N Misra in *Jain Art and Architecture*, Vol I, p 119

67 Mishra, *op cit*, p 119 fn 4

68 Chanda in *ASIAR*, 1925 26, Calcutta, 1928, pp 125 126

69 K N Dikshit, *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, 1929-30, pp 59 ff

devotees of Mahavira Udayi, the successor of Ajatshatru, is said to have built a Jain temple at Pataliputra[70] But no archaeological evidence corroborates this tradition It only shows that Magadha might have been the centre of Jain faith at that time The Nandas are also said to have patronised Jainism and this fact is indicated by an epigraphical evidence which shows that Kharvela brought back to Kalinga the image of Kalinga-*Jina* that had been taken away by the Nanda *raja* of Magadha[71] This means that Jainism was also popular in Kalinga (Orissa) in the first century B C Jain tradition also speaks of the spread of Jainism in south India by Bhadrabahu in the time of Chandragupta Maurya Although Asoka patronised the Buddhist *Samgha* yet the existence of Jain Nirgranthas has been confirmed through his epigraphs for his royal officers (dharmamahamatyas) The efforts of Samprati, the grand-son of Asoka, to promote the faith have been greatly emphasized in Jain traditions According to the *Brhatakalpa Bhasya*[72] he made the regions of Andhra, Dravida, Maharastra and Koorg safe for Jainism

The western part of India beyond Ujjain also seems to have been under the influence of Jainism in the second century B C Tradition associates Salisuka,[73] the brother of Samprati, king Salivahana of Pratisthana, Shaka king[74] of Western India with the Jain faith In support of this fact the only archaeological evidence is the recently discovered rock inscription of the second century B C by Sankalia which begins with a Jain formula[75]

With the discovery of Jain *stupas* and other numerous inscriptions from Mathura dating from the second century B C, to the Gupta period, it appears that by the beginning of the Christian era the centre of Jainism had shifted from the east to the central and western parts of India In the Gupta period, the Gupta kings not only tolerated Jainism (as it is clear from some inscriptions) but some of them like

70 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, (Ed) R C Majumdar and A.D Pushalkar, Bombay, 1960, p 29

71 *Supra*, p 114

72 III, 3275-89

73 K M Dhruva in *JBORS*, XVI, 1930, pp 29-31, Cf H D Sakalia in *IHQ*, XVI, 1940, p 314

74 Kalakacarya legend associated also with Shaka ruler of Western India

75 Sankalia in *Svadhyaya*, Baroda, VII, 4, pp 419 ff

Ramagupta devoted images to the faith, yet with the rise of Vaisnavism and Buddhism, Jainism suffered a set back in this period [76] In the post-Gupta period again, Jain activities shifted from north India to Rajputana, Gujarat, and Central India

Thirdly, Kusana and post-Kusana Jain inscriptions of Mathura throw an important light on the contemporary followers, *acaryas,* and nature and function of the Jain faith It had a large following not only among the trading class but a large number of followers also came from the lower classes such as treasurers, perfumers, metal workers, members of *gosthis,* village-headmen, wives of caravanleaders, merchants, wives of dancers, goldsmiths, and also courtesans The mention of various *ganas, kulas* and *shakhas* reveals the well organised system of the faith Independently, it may be an interesting study in itself

Fourthly, as regard the origin of image and image-worship in Jainism, although it is difficult to fix a definite date for the beginning of image worship in Jain religion, yet Lohanipur torso could be treated as the earliest *Tirthankara* image (in *Kayotsarga* posture) belonging to the Mauryan period The earliest seated image of a *Tirathankara* in relief appeared on an *ayagapatta* dated to the Kusana period The earliest independent sculptures of the seated *Tirthankaras* were carved by the Mathura artists at the beginning of the Christian era

In the beginning, the iconographical features (cognizance) of 24 *tirathankaras* were not fixed Apart from two common features-nackedness and *srivatsa* symbol on the chest–it was impossible to identify the *Tirathankaras* except for Parsavanath and Rishabhadeva who could be identified by a canopy of snake-hoods and locks of hair falling on their shoulders respectively In the Gupta period, on the one hand, certain iconographical features were introduced in the Jain images such as *mahapurusa–laksanas* and *chakravati* elements particularly in the images of Mahavira and on the other hand some of the gods from the Folk and Hindu religion—*Yaksa, Yaksi, Vyantara devata, Shasanadevatas,* Laksmi etc , were accepted in the Jain pantheon, although their representation through images is a compara-

76 In this connection mention may be made of a quarrel between Jainas and Budhists over a stupa See, *Vyavahara Bhasya,* 5, 27, 28, *Vividhakalpa sutra* of Jinaprabha (ed) Jinavijaya Shantiniketan, 1934, pp 1718

tively late phenomena It is also important to note that with the Gupta period some of the *Tirthankara* sculptures especially from the Akola hoard, appear clad in a *dhoti* This may be treated as an important changie n the art of western India Jainas also popularised the *Sarvatobhadra pratima*, commonly called *caumukhi* It is a feature peculiar to Jaina art and was not known to the Buddhists [77]

From the stylistic point of view the early images of *Jinas* are crude and heavy A rigid look, lack of elegence or softness are the main features The austere concept of the *Tirthankaras* could not allow much embellishment to be introduced in their sculptural representations The principal theme of the plastic art of this period is concerned chiefly with the representation of a disciplined body and a conquered mind This has been reflected on the face of Buddha and other divinities but not on the face of Jain *Tirthankaras*

Finally, as regards monuments, the existing *viharas*, caves and remains of *stupas* show that the early Jains have not contributed towards monuments on the same scale as the Buddhists and Hindus Early temples of the Jain faith are not known

77 Although Ghosh is of the opinion that this tradition is also known to the Buddhists as they carved four images of Buddha around the votive stupas, yet it cannot be compared with *Sarvatobhadrika pratima* in which a slab is used to carve the four images For Ghosh's comments see, *Jain art and Architecture*, Vol I,d , fn,

B.M S PARMAR*

A NOTE ON JAIN ICONS FROM KESHAVA RAI PATANA

On the basis of archaeological and literary traditions[1] of the Jainas it appears that in the post-Harsa period, Jainism made headway in Rajputana, Gujarat and Central India Most of the Jain antiquities and monuments of Rajasthan belong to mediaeval period The author of the present note observed some unpublished beautiful images of Jain *Tirthankaras*, stylistically dated in 10th-11th centuries A D, in a Jain temple at Keshava Rai Patana,[2] a historical place[3] in the present Bundi Tehsil The temple is locally called as '*Bhuidevara*' an underground temple Originally the temple was dedicated to Muni Suvrata but in V S 1683 a new structure was raised on it, as a result the main temple became the underground part of the new temple structure All the images under discussion are enshrined in the underground temple

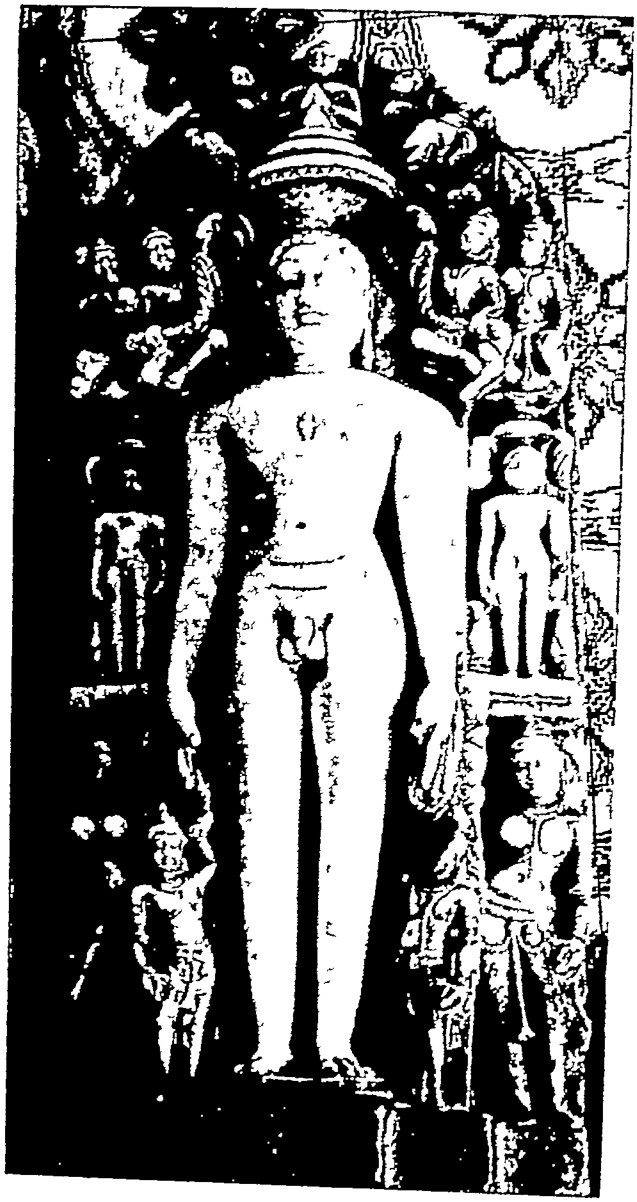
One of the five images carved in black stone is of Muni Suvrata Around the head of the image a circular *prabhamandala* has been carved with lotus and other designs. The stele on both the sides also are beautified by *Vidyadharas* carrying garlands and musical instruments in their hands The image is topped by an umbrella

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1 Cf U P Shah, *Studies in Jain Art*, Varanasi, 2956

2 It is an old town which was known as '*Ashrama Pattan*' in mediaeval period It is said that the present name is associsted with Visnu which is also known as Keshava A Visnu temple of 17th century is still there which was said to be constructed by Rao Shatrusal, the Hara chief of Bundi

3 It is famous for its temples which are generally associated with same historical legends It is said that before the Haras, the place was under the control of Paramaras of Malava during 11th-12th centuryes A D But during 13th century it passed on to Chauhans it is also said that Hammir performed some sacred rites in the Mrtunjaya temple of Shiva near Keshava Rai Patana (Chandra Shekhar, *Surjanacharita Mahakavya*, XV 40-41)



Adinath Image
Keshava Rai Patana



Mahavira Image
Keshava Rai Patana

The another image which is of Adinatha presents the deity in *Kayotsarga* posture and is made out of white marble The *Tirthankara* bears the sacred mark of *Srivatsa* on his chest Some of the *mahapurusa laksanas lambakarna, trivali,* and *usnisha*—give the image an elegant look The beauty of the image is lying in the background where the whole stele is covered with figures of the *Vidyadharas, Jinas* and male and female attendants on both the sides

The other two images which have been identified as of Mahavira seem to us a little earlier in date than the Adinatha image One of them is comparatively mutilated and shows the seated *Jina* in meditation pose over a seat supported by lions and its stele figures include *Yaksa-Yakshini,* male figures holding flywhisk and the *Vidyadharas* The *Jina's* head is surrounded by undecorated *prabhavali* under the cover of an umbrella The features of the second statue of Mahavira are more sharp and elegant This is also a seated image with usual *laksanas* and stele covered with *makara* motif and the flying *Vidyadharas* having garland and musical instruments in their hands The lions on each side below the crocodiles, perhaps indicate the cognizance of Mahavira, the 24th Jina

The fifth image is of Rsabhanatha which is extremely elaborated It is a *caturvimshatipata* image cast in brass depicting in its *parikara* twenty four *jina* figures in meditation pose All the figures have the sacred mark on the chest The central figure or *Mulanayaka* is bigger and flanked by lady *Camaradharinis* In front of the *Mulanayaka* his vehicle or the mark of his cognizance, the couchant bull is also depicted Above the head of this figure, the depiction of Parshvanatha with serpent canopy is also worth notice Stylistically it may be dated in 15th century A D

It appears from these images that in this area of Rajasthan from 10th to 15th centuries A D the artists were carving the *jina* images in close confirmity with Jain iconography And it is a well known fact that unlike Hindu divinities Jainas depicted their deities generally seated in *padmasana* or standing in *Kayotsarga* posture.

S K GUPTA*

DEVANANDA'S DREAM · AN INTERPRETATION OF ITS SYMBOLISM

When Mahavira descended into the womb of Devananda, she saw fourteen beautiful and auspicious objects[1] in her dream viz, an elephant, a bull, a lion, the anointing of the goddess Sri, a garland, the Moon, the Sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus, a lake, an ocean, a celestial abode, a heap of jewels, and a flame Curiously enough as the embryo was transferred to the womb of Ksatrani Trisala by Harinaigamesa, she also saw the same set of objects[2] in her dreams These objects were not dreamt by Devananda and Trisala alone According to both Digambara and Svetambara texts, practically each and every mother of the respective *Tirthankaras* and the mothers of secondary deities also saw them in their dreams But the two traditions differ in their narrations in respect to the number of objects seen in the dreams Svetambara sutras mention fourteen objects whereas Digambara texts[3] speak of sixteen objects adding to the list *minayugala* and *nagendrabhavana* It appears that to deify *Salakapurusas*, the secondary deities of the Jain pantheon, similar auspicious dream symbols were associated with their descent in mothers' womb [4] According to the Svetambara tradition the mother

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1 *Kalpa-Sutra*, su 3, *SBE*, p 219

2 *Kalpa-Sutra* su 31-46, *op cit*, pp 229-238 For details see U P Shah, *Studies in Jain Art*, p 105

3 *Mahapurana*, Sarga 12, VV 101-119, pp 259 ff *Harivamsa*, Sarga 8, Verses 58-74, pp 160-161

4 *Pavitrakalpasutra*, ed Muni Punyavijayaji, su 71, text p 26f, also see *Trisasti-Salakapurusacarita*, I, 4 VV 88ff, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol LI, Baroda, p 148 But according to Svetambara tradition she sees five dreams (*Harivamsa*, 31 1-2, p 412)



Kalpasutra Painting from Mandu showing Negmesh transferring the embryo
(Courtesy Rajasthan Hindi Granth Acadami, Jaipur)

of a *Tirthankara* and a *Chakravarti* saw fourteen[5] objects while the mother of Vasudeva saw seven[6] and that of Baladeva saw only four [7]

These dream objects became the source of inspiration for artists from the very beginning of Jain art They not only symbolise the divinity of the child *Tirthankara* but also represent the drama of conception The best examples of these illustrations are the *Kalpasutra* miniatures[8] where one can see all dreams in a continuous stream or in different panels Generally these paintings depict the mother sleeping on a cot in the lowermost panel[9] and the top panel is decorated with the fourteen dreams These representations are generally found painted in accordance with the textual descriptions of the *Kalpasutra* though some minor differences such as the representation of sun in an anthropomorphic form in place of a circular disc are exceptions Paintings of dream symbols may also be seen on the wooden book covers[10] or engraved in relief on wooden[11] and metal stools which were generally used for placing offerings in the Jain shrines The depiction of dream objects became very popular among the Digambaras who used to carve them on the door lintels of temples [12]

In short the Jains used a variety of auspicious symbols to represent the divinity of the *Tirthankaras* and *Salakapurusas* through the

5 According to U P Shah the belief is common to both the sects, but the difference in number of dreams would suggest their comparatively later growth (*Studies in Jain Art*, p 107, fn 1)

6 *Trisastisalakapurusacarita*, parva 4, Chap I, VV 216-233, see also *Pavitrakalpasutra*, su 72f, text p 27 For Digambara tradition see, *Harivamsa*, 35, VV 11-12, Vol II pp 451-52

7 *Trisastisalakapurusacarita*, VV 167-179 For Digambara tradition see *Harivamas*, 32 1-2, p 412

8 For illustrations see, *Jain Citrakalpadruma*, figs 73, A K Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Boston Museum*, Vol IV, figs 34, 13, Brown, *Kalpasutra Paintings*, fig 152, p, 64, *Pavitrakalpasutra*, figs 17, 22

9 Brown, *op cit*, figs 6, 18

10 *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol V pp 2-12 For reference to paintings of dreams on walls, *Niravavaliao*, 2 1, p 51 as quoted by U P Shah, *op cit*, p 106 fn 4 All the dreams have been carved on an architrave of Caumukha temple at Abu For illustration see, Munisri Jayantvijaya, *Tirtharaja Abu*, 5th ed

11 For illustration see, U P Shah, *op cit*, fig 87

12 An early specimen is available on the door-frame of a cell in Santinatha temple at Khajuraho, as quated by U P Shah, *op cit*, p 107

auspicious objects of their mothers dream The number of the objects generally decides the hierarchy of their pantheon.

What is the significance of these dream symbols ? How can they be explained in the background of Jain faith ? The purpose of the present paper is to show that (1) the tradition of seeing auspicious objects by the mother of *mahapurusas* was very ancient It is not of Jain origin but was common to other religious sects, and (2) that Jains borrowed these symbols from the ancient stock of the traditional symbols current in India.

I

A belief in the significance of dreams is found as early as the *Rgveda* [13] A number of hymns in the *Rgveda*[14] and the *Atharvaveda*[15] speak of evil dreams But reference to auspicious dreams appear much less frequently [16] Dreams indicating death are enumerated in the *Aaitareya Aranyaka* [17] An explanation of the signs belonging to evil dreams is to be found in the *Kausika sutra* [18] Thus the interpretation of dream symbols had began to occupy the attention of the *Brahmanas* at the very early period However, the Epic literature[19] presents different types of dreams and their results

In the Buddhist texts also we see a tradition of projecting auspicious symbols in dreams For example, in the *Lalitavistara*[20] we find an account of the Bodhisattva's conception Here we are told that he (Bodhisattva) descends under the form of a white elephant which is seen by Maya in a dream 'She beholds in the middle

13 *RV*, VIII 47 14ff, *Brhadaranyaka Up* (IV 3 9 14) explains the psychology of dreams Two theories are advanced (1) In dreams the soul takes its material from the world and constructs for itseff by its own light the objects which it see, and (2) in sleep the soul abandons the body and roams according to its will, hence the injunction not to awaken suddenly one who is sleepery, for in that case the soul may not find its way back to the body—an evil which is hard to cure *CERE*, Vol V, p 38)

14 *ERF*, Vol V, p 38

15 *Ibid*

16 In *Chandogya Up* (V 2 8-9) it is stated if, during the process of sacritice sacrificer sees in his dreams a woman, he may infer the success of his sacrifice

17 III 2 4

18 XVLI 9ff, *ERE*, Vol V p 39, *AV*, VI 45

19 *Ramayana*, Sundarkanda,

20 *SBE*, Vol XIX, p XIX

of heaven a white elephant resplendent with glory, and lighting up the world, accompanied by music and sounds of rejoicing and whitest accompanying Devas scatter flowers and incense, the elephant approaches her' 'This dream was interpreted by Sooth-sayers as an exceedingly fortunate one, because it meant the descend of a holy spirit in the womb' However, white elephant in a dream is an old symbol It is said in the *Ramayana* that the maid-servant of Ravana, Trisala, in the service of Sita, saw a dream in which Rama appeared with Sita as riding on a four tusked white elephant [21] The belief in good and bad dreams is also very common in the Puranas *Brahmavaivarta*,[22] *Devi*[23] and *Matsya*[24] Puranas describe dream symbols in details Some of the medicinal books[25] of the early centuries of the Christian era also describe the results of auspicious symbols and objects seen in dreams

Although Jains also adopted the old tradition of auspicious dreams, yet it is surprising that Jain Sutra literature doesnot describe or unfold the meaning of the dream symbols independently It is *Sthanaga Sutra*[26] where, only once, we find the description and meaning of ten dreams seen by Mahavira himself in his itinary, before realization of final knowledge Elsewhere we are only told that Siddhartha, the father, always "firmly fixed the dream in his own innate intelligence and intuition which were preceded by reflections" [27] Or it was supposed to be the work of *Nimitta-pathakas* to unfold the meaning of the dream According to the Jain tradition *Nimitta-pathakas* are said to have been called by Siddhartha to interpret the dream[28] seen by Trisala, the mother of Mahavira

21 *Ramayana*, Sundarkanda

22 In the Kanda dealing with the life of Krsna, adhyaya, 63, 70, 77 and 80

23 *Devipurana*, 22

24 *Matsyapurona*, 242

25 Medical books like *Astangahrdaya* of Vagbhata *Sarangddhara Samhita* (I.3 21-25) and *Carakasamhita* (V 45 46) describe *svapna sakuna* Cf *Sabdakalpadruma* under *Svapna*

26 *SBE*, XXII, p 219

27 10-3, Su 750, Vol. II, pp 499 ff

28 In *Kalpasutra* (Muni Punya Vijaya ed) *nimittapathakas* called *Svapnasastra pathakas* They speak of 30 *mahasvapnas* of which 14 visit the mother of tirthan karas (sutra 71) cf also U P shah, *op cit*, p, 105, fn 1

Here, it is important to note that *Nimittasastra*[29] was very popular with the Ajivikas from whom Kalakacarya mastered it in the first century B C

It is difficult to say when the section on dreams was introduced in the life of Mahavira found the *Kalpasutra* account According to Muni Sri Punyavijaya[30] the detailed description of the fourteen dreams seems to have been added much later The description of these dreams in the *Kalpasutra* is not referred to in the *Curni* of Agastyasimha, and it is difficult to say whether this part is genuine Both the *Niryukti* and *Curni* on the *Dasasrutaskandha* (of which *Kalpasutra* is the eighth *adhyayaya*) are about 1600 years old, or earlier, i e c 350 A D or earlier This conclusion is also corroborated by the observation made by U P Shah [31] He points outs a ornament-*dinaramala* in the description of Sri in these dreams indicates that this section of *Kalpasutra* (37) is added later and it may be as late as the Valabhi council under Devarddhigani Ksamasramana

II

Auspicious symbols have an important place in ancient literature and art Almost in all the ancient civilizations of the world some symbols which are associated with luck or fortune are to be found 'Auspicious' in itself means 'having good auspices or omens of success, favourable, fortunate' Therefore, an auspicious form is a symbol which reminds one of some thing which is favourable or which brings fortune In this sense all objects seen by Devananda in her dream are auspicious But how they became auspicious ? What is the meaning or symbolism underlying these dream objects ? Are they of Jain origin or borrowed from somewhere else by the Jains ? It is in the light of these basic questions that we have to study these dream objects

It appears to us that in general these objects are auspicious because they symbolise fertility, divinity and royalty Therefore, for a meaningful study, they could be divided into three groups first consists of objects like elephant, bull, lion, fish, lake with lotuses,

29 See, *Angavijja*, an important text on *Nimitta Sastra*
30 Muni Sri Punyavijaya, in his introduction to *Pavitrakalpasutra*, p 10
31 U P Shah, *op cit*, p 108, fn 1

sea, garland, fire, purnaghat and Sri which represent fertility or generative force The second group of objects—Sun, Moon, Sri etc, are supposed to be of divine origin And the third group which includes Vimana, dhvaja, heap of jewels, and the palace of the king of snakes *nagendra-bhavana* could be treated as the group of objects which symbolise royalty

As regards the first group of objects, the auspicious symbols also include figures of animals and birds This feature can be traced back to the Vedic Samhitas Some birds were considered auspicious but certain birds, especially piegeons and owls were said to be the messengers of death [32] As regards the animals, in Indian mythology bull, white elephant, *makara*, horse and *Simha* etc, are all treated as *mangalika pasus* [33] The *Taittariya Upanisad*,[34] illustrating the various types of the life principles (*prana*), mentions elephant, bull, horse and man (*purusa*) The *Ramayana*[35] mentions four *ajaneya pasus*—bull, elephant, lion and horse—among the auspicious objects In the same manner, the *Divyavadana*[36] has listed them among the seven auspicious objects carried in procession before the Buddha In the *Chetiya Jataka*[37] we are told that the figures of the same four animals were carved on the city-gateways situated in the four directions, perhaps, to prevent the city from evil spirits However, this shows their popularity as auspicious symbols among the populace [38] Apart from it, there had evolved some cults in which these animals were worshipped as a deity [39] But in the later age, with the development of cults around the great gods these auspicious animals became associated with them as one of their *vibhutis*[40] or *vahanas* Gaja became

32 *RV*, II, 42-43, *AV*, VI 27-29 and *Aaitareya Br* II 15 14 as quoted by Jacobi in *ERE*, Vol, IV, p 799

33 Agarwala, V S *Chakradhvaja*, p, 29 ff,

34 *Aaitereya Up* 3 3, Cf Agrawala, *Ibid*, p 31,

35 *Ramayana*, Ayodhya Kanda, 14 36 38

36 *Divyavadana* (tr Cowell), p 45

37 *Chetiya Jataka*, Vol III, p 460

38 For the use of these four symbols in different periods, see *Wheel Flag of India* p 129 ff

39 *Mahaniddesa*, I, p, 89, and 310 rafers *Hatthivatika* and *Assavatika*, *Govatika* etc. Cf *Gita*, Chapter, X, *Visnudharmottara Purana* III 221 7

40 *Gita*, Ch X, Cf Agrawala (*Lokadharma*, p 8) who believes that all the *Vibhutis* referred by Krsna, as his own, are the folk-gods as mentioned in the *Niddesa* or other texts

the *vahana* of Indra,[41] bull of Siva,[42] lion of Durga,[43] hamsa of Brahma[44] and peacock of Kartikeya [45] These animals were symbols of fertility and had association with the Mother Goddess cult, both these factors additionally paved the way of their popularity as auspicious objects 'If we look at the evidence of Puranas we find that the cult aspect of these four animals either as deity or as auspicious object was much more widespread than perhaps one would believe in the first instance For example, it is stated in *Padma Purana*[46] that the Earth Goddess appearing before king Prithu in the form of these four animals, first as elephant, then as lion, then as a she buffalo and finally as a cow[47]

Among the animals white elephant was the first seen by Devananda in her dream 'Hasti' or elephant occurred in Vedic literature as *mrga*,[48] *sukladanta*,[49] *naga*[50] and *varana*[51] and was famous for its strength[52] and virility [53] In Indian mythology only one white[54] "elephant is known, the Airavata[55] or Aairavana, the elephant of Indra It was produced from the ocean at the time of its churning by gods and demons According to another account it was created along with its consort and other seven couples by Prajapati himself These eight

41 *Mahabharata*, I 3 829, IV 31 1231

42 See, Yaduvamshi *Saivamata*, p 64, 65, fn 2 Cf *Matsya Purana*, I 8, *Vayupurana*, 30 180 261

43 *Markandeya Purana*, ch 82

44 Banerjea, J N *DHI* p 379

45 *Brhatasamhita* (57 V 41) montions his *vahana* as 'Barhiketu'

46 *Padmapurana*, Bhumikanda, ch 27 95 101

47 Banerjea J N, *DHI* pp 104–5, and fns

48 *Vedic Index*, Vol II, pp 171–72

49 *Ibid*, Vol II, p 384 Cf *Ait Br*, VIII 23 3

50 The word naga once appears in *Satapatha Brahmana* (XI, 2 7 12) in form of *Mahanaga* which mean 'great snake' or 'great elephant' Cf also, *Ait Br*, VIII 22

51 *Vedic Index*, Vol II p 228

52 *RV*, I 64 7, *AV*, II 22 1–3

53 *AV*, III 22 6, VI 70 2, Cf *SB*, III 1 3, 4, *Chandogya Upanisad*, VII 24 (vide *Vedic Index*, Vol I)

54 Cf Gonda, J, *Aspects of Early Visnuism* p 128

55 Other meaning of Airavata are 'a descendant of *'Ira-Vat'*', 'prodnced from ocean' and 'name of a mythical serpent' Cf Moneir Williams *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p 234 Cf also *Vamana Purana*, 69 209–11. *Matsyapurana*, 8 7 It is supposed to be the best among the elephants—*Airavatam gajendram* (*Mahabharata*, VI 31 1231)

pairs, known as *diggajas* stand in the four or eight quarters of the sky[56] Airavata helps Indra in bringing rains by drawing up waters from the under world[57] Puranas and early Buddhist literature refer to it as one of the seven *ratnas*[58] of a chakravarti ruler Such a great honour was bestowed on it probably because in legends it was associated with the king of gods not as an ordinary animal but as a celestial *ratna* which was produced by the devas and asuras from the milky ocean Its association with royalty enhanced its value in the eye of Buddhists, since they believed that Buddha was a chakravarti king[59] Therefore, it was natural for them to regard this *ratna* as one of his symbols In order to impress the supernatural personality of Buddha various stories were invented in the early Pali texts One of them is connected with the dream of Mayadevi, the mother of the Buddha, in which she saw a white elephant desending to her womb[60] It was regarded as a sign of the divine nature of her conception

Therefore, from the very beginning elephant became the symbol of fertility and status It took birth from the celestial waters, it brings water for rains from the sea and like the clouds pours it from his trunk It is also associated with Sri, the goddess of plenty and vegetation[61] This association made the elephant a symbol of life and generative force as well as of prosperity or abundance This idea was beautifully expressed in a modified form on the Bharhut Vedika where lotus creepers are emerging from its mouth[62] How-

56 See, *Sabdakalpadrum*, Vol II, p 709

57 Cf H Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, p 102 f, *The Art of Indian Asia*, p 160f

58 *Br Purana*, I 1 98, II 29 71ff *Matsya Purana*, 142 63-75, *Vayupurana*, 57 66-81, Cowell (tr), *Divyavaduna*, p 45

59 For its representation in early Buddhist art see Coomaraswamy, A K, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, pl XXIV, fig 61, Marshall, J, *Manuments of Sanchi*, Vol I, p 183 It is also intersting to note that according to *Matiposaka Jataka* (Cowell, *The Jatakas* Vol IX, No 455, p 58) once Buddha took birth as an elephant It is referred as 'gajatame' (Agrawala, V S, *Indian Art*, pl XX, fig 41)

60 *Suttanipata*, Sela Sutta, *Dighanikaya*, Lakkhana Sutta

61 According to *S Br* Sri was created by Prajapati (XI 4 3 1) out of waters Sometimes she said to have arisen from the lotus and to delight in sound of elephants Probably it refers to the thunder of clouds (Cf Gonda, J, *op cit*, p 213, fn 10)

62 Cunningham, A, *Bharhut Stupa*, pls XLI-XLVIII Cf also Marshall, *op cit*, Vol III, pl LXXIV, fig 3b, pl LXXXII, 44a, pl LXXXVI, 68a, *Lalitakala*, No 14, pl XXII

ever, all these aspects of its personality paved the ground for the development of a cult around it Its devotees were called as *Hattivatika.*[63] This cult had come down from the remote past Here mention may be made the of elephant-headed God Ganesa Ganesa's affiliation was at first sought mainly with those of the cult deities like Siva who had non-Aryan traits in their composition Therefore, it appears that basically elephant cult or worship of an elephant headed God would have been non-Vedic and that Jains, like the Buddhists, borrowed some elements of this cult and incorporated them in their religious system and art tradition [64]

The second object of the dream was a white Bull This animal is known in this country from a very early date [65] Two of its type-*Brahmi* or humped and short-horned are represented on a large number of seals found from Harappa, Mohenjodaro and other sities [66] Because of its great strength it became a symbol of fertility in the early religions In Vedic age bull played an important role in the socio-economic structure of the Aryan society For Vedic seers it became the symbol of power They concieved it as an image of male strength and attributed the epithet *Vrsabha* to many of their gods [67] Indra as a vigorous bull by his virile power overpowers both the worlds [68] The bull-Indra kills the Vrtra [69] Even the chariot and horses of Indra are said to be bull like [70] In the post-Vedic age, the Puranic authors made it the mount of Siva or *Vrsadhvaja* [71] In *Samhitas* it was Rudra, not Siva, who is called *Vrsa* or *Vrsabha*—

63, See, Ayagapatta preserved in Lucknow Museum, which shows elephant dhvaja on the right hand panel (*Guide to Lucknow Museum*, p 2, fig 6, Smith, V, *Jain Stupa*, pl VII, p 14)

64 *Bhagavadgita*, Ch X (Vibhutiyoga) *Mahaniddesa*, I, p 89 and 310—*te hatthivatika honti* See also, *Susema Jataka* (No 163 of Cowell's *The Jatakas*)

65 In the opinion of Mackay the original habitant of humped bull was India From here it was introduced at a very early date to Elam from where it made way to Egypt via Syria and Anatolia *Further Excavation at Mohenjodaro*, Vol I, p 288)

66 Marshall, J , *Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol III, pls CX-CXI, *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, Vol 60-61, Cf *Lalitakala*, Vol X, Mackay, E , *FEM*, Vol II, pl LXXXV, 123

67 Macdonell *Vedic Mythology*, p 150 fn 1, *SB*, V 3 1 3, *AV*, IX 4 9

68 *RV*, I, 54 2

69 *Ibid* , IV 17 8

70 *Ibid* , I 177 3

71 See, Yaduvanshi, *Saivamata*, p 64

'the showers of bounties'[72] With divine association it became *mangalika* object in folk religion It has been listed in *Ramayana*[73] as one among the auspicious objects which were collected for Rama's coronation ceremony Bull standards on tribal coins[74] indicate that some sort of cult might have been developed around it by that period Its solitary figures on coins, as Coomaraswamy[75] observes, stand for Siva in symbolic form But in our view[76] it should be treated as a cult representation The idea about the bull being the mount of a god appears to have originated not before somewhere between first century B C and first century A D[77] As regards the association of bull with Buddhism, it is difficult to ascertain the exact significance with certainty In Buddhist literature sometimes Buddha is given the epithet of *Sakyapungava,* meaning 'Bull-hero, Eminent person', and sometimes it is said that Buddha was born in *Vrsabharasi*[78] According to Fa-hien who visited a great part of India between 404—410 A D Buddha was represented by symbols only, namely the wheel and bull's head[79] However Jains also included it in their mythology as an auspicious symbol

As far as the lion is concerned it is accepted as a symbol of power and royalty throughout the world from very ancient times In India, on the one hand it is not to be found in the mythology of the Indus people (so far) and on the other hand Vedic poets were deeply impressed by it as a wild beast who wanders about and lives in hills

72 For the various meaning of the word, see, Monier Williams *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p 1012

73 *Ayodhyakanda* 14 36 38

74 According to J N Banerjea (*DHI*, p 110) these figures are associated with contemporary religious cults He differentiates between bull on standard and bull before *yupa* In his paper 'Devices on some tribal coins', (*IHQ*, Vol XVI, p 497) he adduced grounds for explaining the 'bull before the yupa' symbol as associated with *Sulagava* sacrifice of the *grhasutras*

75 Comaraswamy, A K , *HIIA*, p 45

76 For this theory see my thesis *A Critical Study of Indian Art Motifs*, p 386 (Unpublished, but can be seen in the Library of University of Rajasthan, Jaipur)

77 Banerjea, *op cit*, p 129 and 154

78 Seè, *JUPHS* Vol V (New series), Part I, pp 28 29, Cf Benjamin, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p 49

79 Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, p 84

Its roaring is often alluded to, and is called thundering[80] Both these aspect of its personality have been used by the Vedic seers In the *Rigveda* Rudra and Agni, both were compared with the lion Rudra owing to his thundering[81] and Agni as it enters in the waters[82] *Bhismamrga* or dreaded lion became the symbol of royalty and on this account tiger skin was prescribed in ritual coronation[83] In later Vedic period its presence in itself came to be treated as auspicious Mention may be made of *Chaturdama kesari*[84] in the list of auspicious objects assembled for Rama's coronation ceremony In the same way according to the *Divyavadana*[85] it was one among the seven auspicious objects carried in procession before the Buddha In the Bhagavadgita,[86] it has been mentioned among the folk divinities which were described as the Vibhutis of Krshna In Buddhist literature and art it represents Buddha—the 'Sakyasimha'[87] As has already been suggested sometime before Asoka some sort of dhvaja-cult around lion was prevalent in which it was worshipped as a god[88] Perhaps Jains took this as an auspicious symbol from the folk cult The Jain text *Angavijja*[89] also lists it with the fifty five folk-gods

Apart from the animals the first and second group of objects seen in the dream by Devananda include celstial lake with flowers, garland, ocean, fire, chandra, surya, purnaghata and Sri Some of these objects represent the various spirits derived from nature,

80 One of the most striking things connected with the lion is his voice, which is excedingly grand and peculiarly striking He startles the forest with loud, deplored solemn roared, repeated in quick succession, each increasing in loudness to the third or fourth, when his voice dies away in five or six low muffled sounds very much resembling distinct thunder (as quoted in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol XIV, p 681)

81 *RV*, II 33 11

82 *Ibid*, III 9 4

83 As referred by V S Agrawala in his *Chakradhvaja*, p 29

84 *Ramayana*, *Ayodhyakanda*, 14 36 38

85 Cowell (ed) p 45

86 Chapter X, Vibhutiyoga

87 In *Divyavadana* (p 45) Buddha is compared (not identified) to the Simha

88 See my thesis '*A Critical Study of Indian Art Motifs*', p 407, (Unpublished but classified in the librarv of University of Rajasthan, Jaipur), Cf also, John Irwin, 'The Heliodorus pillar A Fresh Appraisal', *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, No 6, 1974, p 9, Agrawala, V S, *Chakradhvaja*

89 Chapter—58 For representation see a Jain *ayagapatta* preserved in Lucknow Museum (J 252) (Smith, *op cit*, pl XI, p 18)

viz sun, moon, mountains, ocean, lake trees and flowers The use of these symbols in a ritual is an ancient tradition and indicates the presence or favour of the spirits from nature or the vegitative world, which they represented It is to be noted that these symbols or objects were accepted in every religion For example, a religion like Buddhism where Buddha himself forbade monks to depict *pati-bhanacittas* in the viharas which include representation of male and female figures—*purusarupam itthirupam*, yet they were allowed to paint creepers, plants, and geometrical designs[90] The *Mahaumagga Jataka*[91] presents an interesting list of motifs painted on the walls of Mahaumagga palace-hall including most of the abovementioned dream objects—Chandra, Surya, *Sagara* (Ocean), mahadipa, Hema-vanta and anotta lake etc It is interesting to note that the same type of symbols have also been referred to by the Jain *Agam* texts[92] which were used for the decoration of contemporary palaces In modern times, too, one can mark the continuation of the old tradition-as on the festive occasion and in ceremonies, generally figures of the Chandra and Surya are drawn on the main doorway of the house The presence of banana plants and *bandanvara* (of mango leaves) around the alter and doorway indicates favour or participation of these vegitative spirits in the ceremony In the same way perfor-mance of different rituals with sacred water, collected from the different rivers and oceans, make the occasion more auspicious Cele-stial water or *apah* is the source of life (*prana*) In this way, again, the ocean, lake, and flowers represent or indicate or symbolise the fertility aspect underlying them

Purnaghata signifies the presence of three elements—earth, water and vegetation (foliage) It was invoked as the witness of manifold auspicious enjoyments and blessings[93] It is an ancient symbol of plenty, life and fertility Two elements of *purnaghata*—earth and water, being closely associated with human life, have an

90 *Cullavagga*, p 245

91 *The Jatakas*, Vol VI, p 432

92 *Rayapaseniya Sutta* Cf Jain, J C, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canons*, p 181

93 RV, X 32 9—*etai bhadra Kalasa kriyama* Here the word 'bhadra' (auspicious) is significant

important place in Indian mythology Rigvedic *purnaghata* becomes *purnakumbha* in the *Atharvaveda*[94] It is described as the firm substratum of time—*purnah kumbho-sadhikala ahitastam vai* i e, we behold it manifesting itself in various forms[95] It is full and overflowing with prosperity and blessings and, besides, 'enjoyment, pleasure and delights, gladness and rapturous ecstasies, laughter and merriment, dance and play have made body their home'[96] The *Yajurveda* conceived it as enshrined in the innermost secret of the womb which contains the infant, and this vase is said to be the real progenitor by the force of its inherent mysterious powers[97] Thus, for the Aryans *purnaghata* appeared as an emblem of divine bounty it was invoked as witness of manifold auspicious enjoyments and blessings

As the symbol of beauty (*Sri*). the verses associated with *somadhana* clearly unfold Soma's relation with beauty It is said that Soma while entering the pot induces all kinds of beauty to reside in it In the ritual language, informs Agrawala, a Soma bowl was named '*Dhishna*',[98] a word which sometimes denotes wish or wish-goddess which was identified by Ludwig and Johannsen[99] with the goddess of prosperity and abundance Thus, associated with the goddess *Sri* it becomes auspicious (*bhadraghatal*)[100]

As a symbol of fertility the kumbha represents the womb, full of mysterious powers and source of life According to the experience of Rgvedic seers "an overflowing *purnaghata* exists in the womb of Time and presides over the endless manifestations of the eternal and powerful time process That which is the womb of the Vasa is one, invisible and individual'[101] Thus, the *kumbha* represents the womb of the mother or the mother herself

94 *RV*, III 12 8
95 *AV*, XIX 53 5
96 *Ibid*, XI 8 24 Cf Agrawala, *op cit*, p 46
97 *Yajurveda*, XIX, 87 explained by Agrawala, *op, cit*, pp 45-46
98 *RV*, I 96 1, I, 102 1 etc
99 As quoted by Agrawala, *op cit*, p 4
100 *RV* X 32 9 Cf also *Roop Lekha* XXII No 1, p 23,
101 Agrawala, in *Roop Lekha*, XXII, No 1, pp 23-24

In this way for Aryans the *punaghata* represented symbolically the womb of the mother and goddess associated with fertility [102] However, this aspect was not unknown in other ancient civilizations [103]

The symbol of the *purnaghata* was adopted enthusiastically by the Buddhists and Jains also [104] The charming conception of a house beautified with full-vase, *purnaghata patimandita ghara*,[105] was quite familiar to the Buddhists In Buddhist art it finds a prominent place on the entrance gateway[106] of the stupas *Kalingabodhi Jataka*[107] refers to the installation of a line of eight hundred full-vases made of silver and gold filled with sacred water and covered with lotuses round the Bodhi-tree might have some connection with the purnaghata *sobhapatti* engraved on the stupa slabs[108] of Amravati and Nagarjunikonda The *Mahavamsa*[109] describes the procession of a relic car surrounded by a thousand beautiful women with vases on their heads The *Lalita Vistara*[110] mentions woman with a full-

102 Cf *Kathasaritasagara* 70 112 where *Kumbha* or *ghata* clearly appears for uterus It may explain the *navasatra* fertility festival which starts with *ghatasthapana* The jar is set in some earth in which seed grains are carefully planted 'to encourage the fields' The festival ends with a sacrifice to Sarasvati 'A gupta seal found from Bhita' (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, p 50 pl XVIII) contains a vase on pedestal inscribed with the word *saras vati*, The *Kumbha* as a symbol of the mother goddess still survives in many South Indian festivals (Cf Kosambi, *op cit*, p 73)

103 The Mesopotamian glyptic art represents two rivers flowing from a jar held by Ea or his attendant As pointed out by Barnett, such jar was regarded as a symbol of fertility as in the Mari statue of Istar it depicted in the hands of the goddess and in a seal the two rivers represented as issuing forth from her shoulders

104 Jain religion includes the *ghata* among the *astamangalas* (*Tiloyapannatti*, 4 738, Vol I, p 236 as quoted by Shah, U P *Studies in Jain Art*, p 111, fn 5) It is also included as one of the lucky dreams dreamt by the queen Trisala (Shah, *ibid*, pp 105-108, Coomaraswamy, *Yaksas*, II, p 61) For illustrations, see Agrawala, P K, *Purnaghata*, pl XXXIII-XXXV, Shah, *Ibid*, pl III, figs 10, 11 12-14

105 *Dhammapada*, atthakatha, I 147, Cf Agrawala, *JUPHS*, Vol XVII pt I, p 4

106 Longhurst, *Nagarjunikonda Stupa*, pl XI, b c d, See, also Ramchandrana, *Nagarjunikonda*

107 Fousboll, *Jataka*, IV p 229

108 The appropriate name for such panels carved with *Purnaghata* designs are supplied by the short labels (such as found on some of them *Kalasapatta* and *punnghatapata*)

109 *Mahavamsa*, XXXI 40

110 *Lalitavistara* (Vidya ed), p 71

vase as *purna-kumbha-kanya,* one of the auspicious symbols in the Lumbini procession of Queen Mayadevi.

Purnaghata was looked upon as a source of life and abundance also Here, mention may also be made of the vases which are shown as full of money The famous *Kalpadruma* capital from Besnagar,[111] being a wishfulfilling tree represented by a Banyan with long pendent aerial roots, from which untold wealth is overflowing in the form of coins from the vessels placed below the tree The open vessels are all different, a large shell, a full blown lotus and a pot Ramachandran[112] has published a unique terracotta plaque found at Tamluk (Tamralipti) which depicts a *Purnaghata* overflown with coins Faint traces of feet are seen on its mouth suggesting a figure of Laksmi standing over it

Sri or the Goddess of luck or fortune was accepted as auspicious in all religious systems of India She is the symbol of plenty, beauty, purity and abundance As Mother Earth her motif includes many other aupsicious symbols of fertility such as lotus, *purnaghata* and elephants It appears that before her appearance in anthropomorphic form (as she appears in the dream sequence) Vedic description of the abstract form helped a lot in giving her iconographic form in the later ages In Vedic mythology she appears as Prthivi Though in the Rgveda, she has but one short hymn[113] of her own, in the *Atharvaveda*[114] we find a detailed description of her natural sights She is associated with Dyaus (sky) which reminds us of the old celestial pair of sky and earth She is great, shining and firm, and brings rain from the clouds, a fact which shows that she borrowed an attribute of Dyaus himself[115] She is identified with Sri, the great mother, worshipped from the oldest times Her popular origin is hinted at in several ways, e g , by her identity with the earth and by her birth from waters on the one hand and from heaps of cowdung on the

111 Cf Coomaraswamy, *Yaksas*, pt II, p 72, Cunningham, A , *ASR* Vol I

112 Ramachandran, T N , 'Tamluk', *Artibus Asia*, Vol XIV, 3, pp 232--234, The coins coming from the vase are identified as punch-marked coins (*JNSI*, Vol XXVII, pt I, pl IX)

113 *RV*, VII 96 Cf X 18

114 *Atharvaveda*, XII 1

115 Keith, *RPV* Vol I, p 174

other[116] She appears in the *Sri sukta* (a *khila sukta*) of the fifth *mandala* of the *Rgveda* She is concieved as the mother of all creatures including animals, as spouse of Visnu and supreme deity of the, universe[117] Lotus is her symbol[118] she sits upon a *Kamalasana* as the centre of her dais and it constitutes her garland She is born out of waters from which her lotus takes root surrounded by lotus buds and leaves Her devotees in the cult were known as *Srikama*[119] for whom she was both the goddess of prosperity and fertility Sometimes she is known as Srilaksami but sometimes *Sri* and Lakasami are two separate goddesses[120] The Rgvedic conception of *Sri* emerged later in the Puranas specially with the rise in the status of Visnu and all the features of the goddess mentioned in Srisukta proved helpful in the evolution of her iconographic characteristics

Generally, in the *Rgveda* the goddesses are nothing but the poetic description of certain nature-elements in anthropomorphic forms None of them was concieved as Supreme, all of them appear as subordinate to and in some cases consorts of male deities But, in the later Vedic period, the female deities acquire sharper and more specific personalities Perhaps, it was the result of a closer contact of the Aryans with non-Aryans in whose religion the goddess played a more dominant role Probably that is the explanation of the fact that the names of Ambika, Uma, Durga, Kali, etc , which became cenrtal figures in the Puranic religion do not occur in the *Rgveda* *Matsya Purana*[121] mentions a number of goddesses by different names Thus, it is clear that by the beginning of the Gupta period, the motif of the goddess had developed a cult around itself

From the above discussion, it is obvious that in India there were two main ingredients of the Mother-Goddess motif—her being

116 As quoted by Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Vol I, p 82

117 She is associated with Sun and Moon, being called Surya and Chandra Cf Agrawala, *Ibid*

118 The tradition is referred in Epics where she is called *Padmasri* (*Ramayana* Ayodhyakanda, 79 15), *Padmani Laksami devi* (*Ibid* , Sunderkanda, 7 14), and *Padmarupasri* (*Mahabharata*—Aranyaka Parva, 218 3)

119 Agrawala, V S , *op cit* , p 80

120 *Ibid* , p 82

121 *Matsya Purana* 179, 10-32 Cf *Angavijja*, chapter on *Devatavijaya*, *Vayupurana* states that in reality there are only two goddesses *Prajna* or *Sarasvati* and *Sri* or *Laksami* Other goddesses are different menifestations of the same deities (9 85 98)

the symbol of the process of procreation and vegetation The various goddesses of the Vedic and Puranic religion are merely various aspects of these two basic, though inter-related, ideas The same idea may be traced in Buddhism-especially in its treatment of Maya and Sri In the early art of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgaya there appears a motif in which a woman is shown as seated or standing on a lotus flower holding a bud in her right hand Sometimes she appears with two elephants pouring celestial water on her head[122] It has been argued by some scholars like Foucher[123] and Marshall[124] that this motif represents the nativity of the Buddha The basis of this idea is a passage in the *Lalitavistara*[125] where it is stated that as soon as the Buddha was born the Naga kings Nanda and Upananda, standing half embodied in the sky, created two streams of water, one cold and one hot to bathe the Bodhisattva' Foucher is of the opinion that the word naga means 'elephant' and the description of the passage points to the motif as symbolizing the nativity of Buddha and the woman seated on lotus is Mayadevi, the Mother of Bodhisattva Whether Maya appears as goddess (*devi*) in the Buddhist literature, is a matter of dispute among the scholars In Pali and Sanskrit literature (*Lalitavistara*) Maya or Mahamaya and Mahaprajapati (step mother of Buddha), the daughters of Anjana, son of Devadaha the Sakya[126], are mentioned as the wives of Suddhodana Both the names 'Maya' and 'Mahaprajapati', no doubt, are personal names, but their meaning has given rise to various fanciful interpretations For example, Maya has troubled the Mythologists[127], and an attempt has been made to connect her with the maya doctrine of Vedanta But, the sense of maya as cosmic illusion does not exist either in Pali or Sanskrit in the works that record her name In the same way, Mahaprajapati or Maha-

122 In the later iconography the motif is termed as 'Gajalaksmi' (Banerji *DHI*, p 375)

123 Foucher, *MASI*, No 46, p 3ff

124 Marshall, J, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol I

125 *Lalitavistara*, pp 83, 93

126 According to *Mahavastu* Sakya Sambhuti of Devadaha had seven daughters —Maya, Mahamaya, Atimaya, Anatamaya, Culiya, Kolivasa and Mahaprajapati— from a Koliya lady, And all were received by Suddhodana (Thomas, *op cit*, p 25, Mukerji, P C, *ASI, Imp Series*, Vol XXVI, Pt I, Cf Also Kosambi, D D, *Myths and Reality*, p 106)

127 Thomas *op cit*, p 25, fn 2

prajavati (meaning 'rich in off spring') has no connection with the Vedic god Prajapati 'Lord of beings'[128] For the Buddhists, they were merely proper names It is also worth noticing that Asvaghosa[129], too, mentions Maya as the wife of Suddhodana She looks like the goddess of heaven (*dividevata*), But Maya is not the embodiment of that goddess

As regards the representation mentioned by Foucher, it may be said that on the basis of a single passage it is difficult to interpret the motif as he does. Another passage, earlier than this, could be cited though here elephant and nagas are not mentioned It is stated in the *Majjhima Nikaya*[130] that when the Bodhisattva comes out from his mother's womb the streams of water are poured from the sky, one cold and one hot, with which they performed the abulations of the Bodhisattva and his mother Apart from it, this motif appeared independenly on the facade of Nasik Caitya[131] hall and on the door-arch of the Jain cave at Udayagiri in Orissa [132] In the acceptance of Foucher's view it would be difficult to explain the occurrence of the scene of Buddha's nativity on the door of a Jain cave Therefore, it may be treated as the representation of Sri or Laksmi, the goddess of plenty which was known both to the Buddhists and the Jainas In the *Lalitavistara*[133] and the *Mahavastu*[134] versions of the *Atanatiya Sutta* the four varieties of the goddess of luck are associated with Virudaka, the regent of Southern quarters and they bear the appellations of Sirimati, Yasamati Yasahprapta or Laksmimati and Yasodhara The *Siri Kalakanna-Jataka*[135] introduces a Siridevi or Lakkhi, who is described as the daughter of Dhatarattha, the regent of the eastern quarter In this *Jataka* Sri or luck is constrasted with Kalakarni or misfortune Siri the goddess is said to have come with radiance and ointment of golden hue and ornament of golden bri-

128 *Ibid*

129 Asvaghosa, *Saurananda*, 2 49

130 *Majjhima Nikaya* (ed Chiners, London, 1899), Vol III, p 12

131

132 Agrawala, V S, *Indian Art*, p 184

133 *Lalitavistara*, Ch XXIV

134 *Mahavastu*, III 307

135 Cowell, *Jataka* Vol p No 383

ghtness, diffusing yellow light, resting with even feet on level ground (*samohi padehi samam pathaviyam*) standing respectful, and introducing herself as Fortune and Luck (*Siri ca lakkhi ca*), the daughter of Dhatarattha

Thus the goddess Sri was known from very ancient times; being the goddess of luck she must have been very popular in the folk religions Therefore, she could be treated as deity of the folk religion by the artists of the Buddhist railings and caves And Jains adopted her in the same sense

As far as the *Nagendra Bhavana* is concerned it is clearly described as 'palace of the king of snakes' Undoubtedly, it is also a symbol of royalty, and may be identified with the *samavasarana*[136] of the Jains '*Samavasarana* literally means assemblage and refers to the Preaching Hall of a Jina, constructed by gods where gods, men and animals assemble and take their apportioned seats to hear the sermon, which a *Tirthankara* delivers immediately after enlightenment The belief is common to both the sects, the Svetambaras describe it as the work of Vyantara gods at the bidding of Indra, while Digambaras say that Indra himself was the architect [137]

From the above discussion it is clear that Jains borrowed most of the symbols from the old stock of symbols, traditionally popular among the folk cults These symbols signify the presence or support of natural and divine elements on festive occasions and ceremonies This belief in the auspiciousness of certain forms or objects, and belief in their invisible help in fulfilment of the work, gave rise to many myths relating to divinisation, omens and augury The belief in augury (*Sakuna*)[138] is based on the suposed auspiciousness of certain objects or a glimps of them is considered to be an indication of the ensuing successful fulfilment of the mission in hand Therefore, explanation of the significance of such symbols or omens became a science The ancient Pali and Sanskrit literature mention a number of good and bad omens In *Mahabharata* we are told that before

136 Cf D R Bhandarkar, 'Jain Iconography', *Indian Antiquary* Vol XL (1911), pp, 125 130, 153 161 as quoted by U P Shah, *Studies in Jain Art*, p 85ff

137 For details of *Samavasarana*, see U P Shah, *Ibid*, pp 85ff

138 See *ERE*, Vol IV, under 'Divination' Angury proper '*Sakuna*' is very old branch of divination, it developed with course of time

going to the Assembly hall Yudhishthira cast a glance at several auspicious things including *svastika, vardhamana nandyavarta, mala, Jalakumbha,* flame, pot filled with rice, *gorocana,* curd, ghee, honey, *mangal vihaga,* and *kanya* etc It appears to us that later on some of these *mangalas* became converted into dream symbols, some became a part of the *angavijja* (science of the body) and sometimes occupied a place in the iconography of the great gods

MUKUND LATH*

MUSIC IN THE THĀNAMGA SŪTRA

I

Anga is the primary canon of the Jains Śvetāmbara Jains have preserved eleven of the originally twelve *angas* in a redaction made by Devarddhigani in the Fifth century A D *Ṭhānamga* is the third *anga* This *anga* is a storehouse of varied lore Together with matter relating to Jain doctrine and conduct, it also contains much information on many secular arts, skills and sciences

The arrangement of contents in the *Thānamga* follows a plan based on numbers The work is divided into ten sthānas *(ṭhānas)*, and music is placed in the seventh sthāna because the basis of music is the seven-note octave

The *Thānamga* account of music is short and cursory It is unsatisfactory as a systematic and comprehensive delineation of ancient Indian music, and is similar in this respect to the description of the subject as found in Purānas such as the *Mārkandeya* and the *Viṣnudharmottara* It has, nevertheless, many points of interest Early texts on music are rare and the *Thānamga* description is valuable on this count also, for it belongs to a period from which few texts survive[1]

The text on music as found in the *Thānamga* also occurs almost verbatim in the *Anuōgaddāra*, another canonical work of the Jains *Anuōgaddāra* is part of the secondary Jain canon[2] The

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1 The *aṅgas* contain material much antedating Devarddhigani who was primarily a compiler However, certain minor changes, deletions and additions in the *aṅgas* did occur as the discrepancies between the contents of the texts as available and as noted in the later portions of the canon or reported by early ṭīkākāras show Muni Nathamal in his editor's preface, pp 5–6 to the Jain Śvetāmbara Terāpanthī Mahāsabhā, Calcutta, edition of the *Āyāra* text gives some examples of such changes in the case of *Āyāra* See also *A History of Indian Literature*, Winternitz Vol II, foot note 3 on p 47

2 *Anuogaddāra* is classed by some as a mūla sutta and as cūlikā by others (see Introduction to *Dasavoyāliya*, edited by Amolak Chandra Surpuria, published by Raibahadur Motilal Mutha, Bhavani Peth, Satara) Winternitz classifies *Anūoga* with

material on music in this text seems to have been borrowed from the *Thānamga*, which being an *anga* contains earlier material

The purpose of including music as a topic in the *anga* was, evidently, to give the Jain monks a modicum of acquaintance with the art The *Thānamga* account has no further ambitions and for a fuller and more detailed understanding of the subject one has to turn to texts like the *Nāradīya Śikṣā*, *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Dattilam*

II

As the *Thānamga* dissertation on music is short and also little known, we give here a full translation of it We will then attempt at a study and analysis of the text in the light of other ancient accounts

THE TEXT[3]

Names of notes

Musical notes (svaras) are said to be seven in number They are ṣadja, ṛsabha, gāndhāra madhyama pañcama, dhaivata and nisāda[4] thus are the seven notes termed

Svarasthānas

There are said to be seven sthānas for these seven notes ṣadja is produced from the tip of the tongue *(aggajibbhaēm)*, ṛsabha from the chest (*urena*), gāndhāra from the throat, madhyama from the middle of the tongue, pañcama from the nasal region, dhaivata from the area of the lips and the teeth, and niṣāda from the roof of the palate Such are the svara-sthānas

Svaras produced by living beings

Seven svaras are said to be produced by living beings *(jīvanissiyā)*, in this manner sadja is sounded by the peacock, ṛṣabha by the cock, gāndhāra is the call of the swan and madhyama that of sheep In the (spring) season when flowers bloom, the kokila sings the pañcama The

Nandi as an independent canonical text and mentions that some classify them as prakīrnas (*op cit*, pp 429–30)

Anūoga too, was part of the canon compiled by Devarddhi Jain tradition assigns the Authorship to Āryarakṣita who flourished 524 years after Mahāvīra Weber thought that the work was composed between 300–500 A D

3 We have used the text as given in the edition published by the Akhila Bharatiya Jaina Sāstroddhara Samiti, Rajkot, 1965 The text includes a ṭīkā in Sanskrit and explanations in Hindi and Gujarati by Muni Ghāsīlālji See Appendix for the original Prakrit

4 We will give Sanskrit terms as they are more familar than Prakrit

sixth note is (in the call) of the sārasa and the krauñca bird sounds the nisāda

Svaras produced by non-living objects

Seven svaras are said to be produced by non-living objects *(ajīvanissiyā)*, as follows sadja is the sound of the mrdanga, rsabha of the (instrument called) gomukha,[5] the conch sounds the gāndhāra and madhyama is sounded by the jhallarī[6] the godhikā with a four-legged stand[7] sounds the pañcama, the ādambara[8] sounds dhaivata and the seventh (note) is (sounded by) the mahābherī[9]

Svara lakṣanas

There are said to be seven svara-laksanas related to these seven svaras These are (as follows)

With ṣadja a person acquires livelihood *(vittim)* and (his) actions do not remain fruitless;[10] he comes to possess many cows, friends and sons and is loved by many women

With rsabha (a person) acquires power *(esajjam)*, (he) becomes a commander of armies and accumulates great wealth He comes to possess (rich) clothes, perfumes, jewellery, many couches and many women With gāndhāra (a person) acquires proficiency in the science of music, (he) acquires an excellent livelihood *(vajjavitti)* and becomes a master of many arts and skills Poets, wise men and those learned in the *śāstras* (are persons who are characterised by gāndhāra)

Persons who are characterised by the note madhyama *(majjhimasarasampannā)* are people with a happy disposition *(suhajīvino)* They are generous, they eat, drink (and make merry) Such is the (disposition) depending upon the note madhyama

Persons characterised by the note pañcama become kings, they are brave, they gather together a great number of men[11] and become leaders of vast multitudes *(anekaganaṇāyagā)*

5 A musical instrument perhaps of the horn variety

6 A kind of drum or may be a cymbal

7 The sūtra has '*caucalana paiṭṭhāna gohiyā*' *Gohiyā* is explained as a kind of drum also called *dardarikā* by Ghāsīlāl ji The descriptive epithet '*caucalana paiṭṭhāṇā*' was evidently the distinctive trait of a special type of *godhikā*

8 Another kind of drum, also mentioned in *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, 14

9 Another horn

10 The text reads '*kayam ca na vinassāī*

11 The expression is '*sangahakattāro*' which may also mean 'accumlators (of wealth)'

Persons characterised by the note dhaivata are of a quarrelsome nature They become bird catchers (*sāūṇiyā*), hunters (*vagguriyā*), boar-catchers and fishermen

People whose disposition depends upon niṣāda are *caṇḍālas*, professioal boxers (*muṭṭhiya*) lowly people, sinners of various kinds, thieves, and killers of cows

The three grāmas

There are three grāmas relating to these seven svaras The grāmas are ṣaḍja-grāma, madhyama-grāma and gāndhāra-grāma

Mūrchanās

Sadja-grāma is said to have seven mūrchanās mārgī, kauravīyā hari, rajanī, sārākrāntā, sārasī and śuddhaṣaḍjā

Madhyama-grāma is also said to have seven mūrchanās uttara-mandrā, rajanī, uttarā, uttarasamā, samavakrāntā, sauvīrā and ābhīrī, the seventh Gāndhāra-grāma, too, is said to have seven mūrchanās nandī, kṣudrikā, pūrimā, śuddhagāndhārā the fourth, uttara-gāndhārā the fifth and susthuttarāyāmā the sixth as per rules and finally uttarāyatā the seventh and last of the mūrchanās

Questions relating to song techniques

Wherefrom are the seven notes produced ? What is the fountainhead (*yoni*) of song ? of what duration is the breath (in singing) ? How many are the processes (*āgārā*)[12] in a song ?

The answers

The seven svaras are produced from the region of the navel

Lament is the fountainhead of song (*ruīyajoniya*m)[13] The duration of the breath should be equal to one metric foot (*pāda*)

There are three processes (*āgārā*) in a song (a song is) soft in the beginning, sustained in the middle and ends with a fury (*avasāne tajjavinto*)[14]

12 *Āgārā* literally means, 'forms', but what is signified seems more akin to processes' or rather 'phases,' as the answer to this question implies

13 The question 'what is the yoni of a song' could mean 'what is nature or characteristic of a song, or 'to what class of things does a song belong', the answer consequently would mean 'a song is of the nature of a lament or belongs to the same class as a lament'

14 Ghasilalji translates '*tajjavinto*' as '*kṣapayantaḥ*' which seems to be off the track The *Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo* equates '*tajja* with '*tajjay*' and gives the meaning as 'to threaten,' 'to deride' There is, however, a variant reading suggesting, *kṣapayantaḥ*, See Prakit text

Criteria for a good singer

One who is properly trained and knows the six faults, the eight merits and the three vṛttas of song becomes proficient enough to sing in theatrehalls *(ramgamajjhammi)*.

The six faults

One should not sing timidly or in too fast a tempo or in a manner that cuts short the melodic movement. one should not stray away from the rhythm (tāla) (moreover to sing in) a croaking crow-like voice and a nasal tone these are the six faults in a song

The eight merits

The eight merits in a good song are fullness, affectiveness. melodic grace, clarity, avoidance of mere loudness, sweetness. evenness and charm

Aesthetic elements of a good song

A good song is fluent *(pasattha)* in all three octaves . mandra. madhya and tāra,[15] it is sung with an enticing flow of words, it is synchronised with the resounding tāla-beats *(sama-tālapaḍukkhevam)* and is intoned with an even application of all seven svaras It has depth *(sāramanta)* and grace, it is devoid of faults, rightly applied. sweet, and is sung with due deliberation over its various elements *(uvanītam sovacāram)* and with an eye to measured form *(mita)*.

Vṛtta

Vrttas are of three kinds Sama, ardhasama and viṣama in all respects—there is no fourth

Languages of songs

Utterances are said to be of two kinds Sanskrit and Prakrit, (both) are sung to the whole gamut of notes *(saramandalammi)*. The *Rsibhāsitas*[16] are the best songs *(pasattha)*

15 The text has '*urakanṭhasirapasattham* ' 'Ura', 'Kanṭha' & 'śira' were considered to be the three seats or abodes of the three octaves, mandra, madhya and tāra, respectively The use of the terms 'ura' etc is, in this context, is obviously indicative of the octaves which were said to reside in them We come across similar figurative usage in other text too See for example *Nāṭyaśāstra* 29, 43 (Gaekwad edition, this is the edition we will refer to throughout this paper) here the same alaṅkāra has different names when produced in the kanṭha (i e the mandra octave) and in the sira (the tāra octave)

16 Ghāsīlālji interprets the phrase as a clause qualifying the precendent statement The meaning he gives is 'they' (Sanskrit and and Prakrit) are commendable since they have been uttered by Ṛṣis ' But, Prakrit and not Sanskrit was the Jain *ārṣa* language The reference is here perhaps to the Canon called *Ṛṣibhāṣita* or *Isibhāsiyā* H R Kapadia also interprets the reference here as pointing to *Isibhāsiyā*, the canonic text *(The Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, footnote on p 125)

Different women and their inherent qualities as singers

Which women sing sweetly ? and which sing with a rough harshness ? which sing skilfully ? which sing at an (unduly) slow tempo ? which at a (misplaced) fast one and which stray out of a tune ?

Young and pretty women *(śyāmā)*[17] sing sweetly, dark ones sing with a rough harshness, fair women are skilfull in song, one-eyed women sing with an undue slowness and blind women with undue speed Brunettes[18] sing out of tune

Well-synchronised song

(Songs sung with) the seven svaras (ought to be) well-synchronised with the accompanying instruments, the tāla, the prosodic measure (pāda), the tempo (laya) the graha,[19] and the melodic movement, (it should be) well regulated in breathing in and out

The svaramandala

The seven notes, the three grāmas, the twenty-one mūrchanās, the forty-nine tānas these constitute the svara-maṇḍala

III

We observe that the delineation is fragmentary, eclectic and disjointed Only a few stray topics of the ancient musical system are treated and these, too, are merely noticed The account tells us little of the forms and techniques of ancient music, but seems rather to be a randomly collected popular digest of musical lore Purānic accounts of music are similar in character and were, evidently, collected with a similar populistic aim[20]

The theoretical framework within which ancient musical forms and structures were interpreted and morphologically analysed had developed quite early into an organised discipline Already in the

The *Isibhāsiyā* has 45 chapters, each a biography of one 45 of the 'pratyekabuddhas' like Nārada, Aṅgarisi, Valkalacīri and others Many chapters are in verse and may have been set to music

17 Literally '*śyāmā*' means 'a girl with a darkish complexion', it also denotes a 'young and pretty girl' Kālidāsa uses it in this sense in the *Meghadūta*, when describing the Yakṣiṇī as '*tanvī-śyāmā* '

18 The term is '*pimgalā*' It perhaps also signified women with hazel-brown eyes, or pigmented brownish skins A *pimgalā* was, obviously, not admired

19 Graha was the initial svara in a melodic pattern

20 For a collection of Purāṇic records on music see '*Textes des Purāṇas Sur La Theorie Musicale*'—Alain Danielou and N R Bhatt, Pondicherry 1959 The records in different Purāṇas are not all of the same length and scope, but they all share a populistic tendency The Purānas were, after all, 'popular' works

Nāṭyaśāstra—which had acquired its present form by the second or third century A D—we find a fully developed scheme hierarchically arranged into basic and secondary categories and concepts. *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not name earlier musical authorities but it alludes to an authoritative tradition[21] and certainly had many precursors

The *Thānamga* barely lists four concepts of the ancient musical scheme, namely grāma, mūrchanā, sthāna and tāna

The text does no more than record the names of the three ancient grāmas Of these, the gāndhāra-grāma was an obsolete grāma and survived only in memory. The *Nāradīya Śikṣā* speaks of it as existing with the gods alone[22]

Thānamga also names the mūrchanās of the three grāmas The names recorded are quite at variance with other ancient lists[23]

Nowhere does the *Thānamga* account suggest that only two grāmas were employed in actual musical practice Yet the tenor of the text in its present form does not bespeak of an antiquity so high as might lead us to infer that it was composed when the three-grāma system was prevalent The Thānamga account, on the whole, assumes the same framework of ideas and notions as are embodied in the

21 *Nāṭyaśāstra* refers to *āptopadeśa*'—'ancient authoritative decree'—in speaking of the two niṣādas (28, 34), in describing the jātis—ancient rāga—like formations—it often refers to rules or formulations as being '*smṛtāḥ*' or '*prakīrtitāḥ*' etc i e. 'traditionally current' (28, 64, 83, 85, 88, 90, 92, etc) Similar expressions occur in the description of tāla structures (31, 106, 109, 125, 144, etc)

22 *Nāradīya Śikṣā*, 1, 2, 7

23 The *Nāradīya Śikṣā* enumerates two sets of mūrchanās, without clearly assigning them to any specific grāma The first set has nandī, viśālā sumukhī, citrā, citravatī, sukhā and valayā (the text reads valaya) These are called the mūrchanās of the gods The enumeration of the second set is couched in such a phrasing as suggests that the mūrchanās belong to the ṣadja-grāma

ṣadje tūttaramandrā syādṛṣabhe cābhirudgatā
aśvakrāntā tu gāndhāre tṛtīyā mūrchanā smṛtā
madhyame khalu sauvīrā hṛṣyakā pañcame svare
dhaivate cāpi vijñeyā mūrchanā tūttarāyatā
niṣādādrajanīṁ vidyādṛṣīnām sapta mūrchanā

(*Nāradīya Śikṣā*, 1, 2, 9–12)

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives almost the same set of names for the ṣaḍja-grāma mūrchanās as the *Nāradīya Śikṣā* with a little difference in the sequence of names (*Nāṭyaśāstra* 28, 27–28) This text lists another set of ṣaḍja-grama mūchanās which is again the same as that of Nārada and is given in the very same language (ibid. 28, 29–30) The madhyama-grāma mūrchanās in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are sauvīrī, harināsvā, kalopanatā, suddhamadhyā, mārgī, pauravī and hṛṣyakā (ibid 28, 31)

The *Vāyupurāna* gives the same mūrchanās for the ṣadja-grama and enumerates them in the same sequence as in the first set listed in the *Nāṭyasāstra* (see *Texts dee Purāna Sur La Theoric Musicale*, p 32) This Purāna also gives a list of gāndhāra-grāma mūrchanās ālāpā, kṛtrimā nandinī, visuddhagāndhārī gandhārī uttara, ṣaḍjā and pañcāyatā (ibid p 36) Barely a few names here bear a resemblance with the *Thānamga* list of gāndhāra-grāma mūrchanās

Nāradīya Śikṣā which belongs to a period when gāndhāra-grāma was quite obsolete

We do not know when the gāndhāra-grāma became obsolete The earliest known texts were all written within a two-grāma system which had already become firmly established by the period of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and must have been the ruling musical system for some centuries before

Still we must not forget that there certainly was a gāndhāra grāma once Musical tradition has never let the memory of it die Some latter-day theorists—like Nānyadeva in his *Bharatabhāṣya*—even constructed a tonal structure for it in order to give it a greater somblance of reality

The *Thānaṃga* account of music is a heterogeneous juxtaposition of diverse material, perhaps in its divertity it also preserves several layers of material representing diverse periods of musical history The nucleus of the *Thānaṃga*, in all probability, goes back to Mahāvīra's immediate disciplies It is likely that the record hearkens back to an age when the gāndhāra-grāma was an actuality or at least still fresh in people's memory

Much of the *Ṭhānaṃga*, however, bears the stamp of a relatively later date It reflects the same milieu of musical culture as is pictured in the *Nāradīya Śiksa* and the *Nāṭyasāstra* The *Śiksā* is believed to have been composed in the beginning of the Christian era, the *Nāṭyasāstra* may be a century or two later Both texts utilised earlier material

The present *Thānaṃga Sūtra* mentions an event which occured six hundred years after the nirvāna of Mahāvīra This *anga* then was certainly retouched in the 1st–2nd Centuries A D Perhaps at this period new matter was also added to the work in order to enlarge its encyclopaedic scope, the section of music, too, evidently received its share of accretions The older nucleus—containing the enumeration of three grāmas and their mūrchanās must have been preserved—albeit with certain changes or alterations—as part of a hallowed memory Nor was it thought necessary to point out that the three-grāma system no longer prevailed, for the purpose of the text was not to serve as a practical guide to music but only as a record of popular lore Often in popular descriptions of this sort entities which no longer hold sway in practice continue to figure as important, echoing the fact that these entities too, had had their day Thus we see even today that in many popular

enumerations of major rāga-forms, the name of rāga dīpaka looms large, although dīpaka has been a lost rāga for long

The Purānic texts on music, which, too, are popular accounts, also presume a three-grāma system like the *Thānamga*, despite the fact that in their present form the Purānas are probably later than the *Thānamga* for they were, in their extant form, composed in the Gupta age or after

Another fact is worth noting the *Nāradīya Śikṣā* suggests that ṣadja, ṛṣabha etc were comparatively later names for the svaras, in the older Sāma music the svaras had another set of names [24] *Thānamga*, gives the later svara-names and shows no awareness of any older nomenclature This, however, does not detract from the value of *Thānamga* as recording old traditions for the ṣadja-ṛṣabha nomenclature is not necessarily of a later date than the period of the three grāmas

Besides grāma and mūrchanā the *Thānamga* also speaks of sthāna

The nation of sthāna or 'abode' was in ancient musical theory based on a principle which related the octaves in singing to various regions of the human anatomy Ancient music was usually conceived of as having a range of three octaves : mandra (lower), madhya (middle) and tāra (upper) Chest was the abode of the mandra , it was from the chest that this octave was thought to be produced The throat and head regions were similarly the abodes of madhya and tāra, respectively

The *Nāradīyā Śiksā* has recounted these three sthānas [25] The *Śīkṣā* also gives another quite different category of sthānas for each of the seven svaras severally ṣaḍja is said to be born from the throat, ṛṣabha from the head, gāndhāra from the nasal region, madhyama from the chest, pañcama from the three regions of the chest, head and throat, dhaivata from the forehead and niṣāda from all the above regions [26]

24 *Nāradīya Śikṣā*, 1, 1, 12

25 *Nāradīya Śikṣā*, 1, 1, 7–8, also *Dattilam* 8 and 42.

26 *Nāradiya Śikṣā* 1, 5, 5–6 This passage in the *Śikṣā* is followed by a set of details of the same category but at variance with it The relation between the two different set of details concerning the same aspect of sthāna is not made clear The second set of details is as follows ṣaḍja is produced when the breath strikes these six sthānas nose, throat, chest, roof of the palate, tongue and teeth, ṛṣabha is produced when the breath strikes the throat and the head gāndhāra is produced on the breath striking the throat, the head, and also the nose and pancama is prodused when the breath strikes the chest, the heart, the throat and the head *Nāradīya Śikṣā* 1, 5, 7–10

The *Thānamga* account of sthāna is akin to the second category of sthānas given in the *Nāradīya Śikṣā* But the details are quite at variance, the *Thānamga* relates the svaras to different regions situated almost exclusively in the buccal cavity much in the manner of ancient Sanskrit grammarians recounting the 'sthānas' of different Sanskrit phonemes[27]

The *Thānamga* text closes with a definition of the ancient notion of 'svaramandala' The verse here is almost an exact Prakrit parallel of the verse in the *Nāradīya Śikśā* containing the same idea,[28] The *Thānamga* mentions the concept of tāna in this passage but does not explain it, nor does it name the tānas

IV

Though unsatisfactory as a guide to the schema and forms of ancient music, the *Thānamga* text outlines certain ideas and notions that formed the metaphysical and aesthetic perspective in which music was generally envisioned and evaluated

One deep-rooted ancient idea was that musical tones had a series of extra-musical dimensions The seven svaras were perceived to have attributes corelating them with phenomena which, apparently, have nothing to do with tones a svara was not only a pleasing sound, it had a colour, a social caste and also a deity

The *Nāradīya Śikṣā* lists the following series of these attributes

The colours of svaras : ṣaḍja is said to possess a lotus hue, ṛṣabha has a tawny parrotgreen colour, gāndhāra is golden, madhyama is the colour of reddish-white oriander *(kunda)*, pañcama is black (or dark blue *kṛṣna)* dhaivata is yellow and nisāda possess all the colours

These are the 'varnas' of svaras but each has a varna also in the sense of social caste pañcama, madhyama and ṣaḍja are brāhmanas,

27 Tbe *Ṭhāṇamga*, however, shows awareness of the idea that chest, throat and head were the 'abodes' of the three ancient octaves, for it uses the terms ura, kanṭha and śira to denote the three octaves that were produced from these sthānas It also mentions the related process of the way that nāda (voice) was produced in the human body when it syas that 'the seven svaras are produced from the navel' (cf *Nāradīya Śikṣā*, 1, 5, 7–10)

28 *saptasvarāstrayo grāmā mūrchanāstvekavimśatiḥś tānā ekonapañcāśadityetatsvaramandalam Nāradīya Śikṣā* 1, 2, 4

The notion of *svaramaṇḍala* is differently conceived in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Dattilam* These two texts relate the notion to the śruti-interval between svaras (See *Dattilam* 15, *Nāṭyaśāstra* 28, 24)

dhaivata and rsabha are kṣatriyas while gāndhāra and niṣāda are half-vaiśya, half-śūdra [29]

Svaras also have transcendental attributes Every svara has a specific deity *(adhiṣṭātṛ devatā)* ṣadja has Brahmā for its deity, ṛṣabha has Agni—'because this svara radiates a fiery brilliance,' gāndhāra has the cow—'because it is pleasing to the cattle and the *saurabheyas* (i e 'cattle' but also 'Rudra') come running on hearing it, pañcama has as its deity, Soma—'for in the different musical grāmas this svara like the Moon, waxes and wanes in measure, dhaivata, too, for the same reason also has Soma for its deity and nisāda is Āditya—'since this svara overpowers all others '[30]

Later texts also record attributes of this kind. Matanga (ca 7th century A D) and Śārngadeva (13th century A D), for example, give similar lists Their list of deities is however, quite at variance with that of the *Nāradīya Śikṣā* [31] There were, clearly, different traditions in this matter The varnas given in all texts are, however, identical [32]

Envisioning such attributes was part of the ethos of the period when early theorisings on music and speech sounds developed The *Yājñavalkya Śikṣā* gives a similar scheme of attributes for the phonemes

29 *Nāradīya Śikṣā*, 1, 4, 1–4

30 *ādyasya daivatam brahmā ṣadjasyāpyucyate budhaih*
tīkṣnadīptiprakāśatvādṛṣabhasya hutāśanah
gāvāḥ pragīte tuṣyanti gāndhārastena hetunā
śrutvā caivopatiṣṭhanti saurabheyā na samśayah
somastu pañcamasyāpi daivatam brahmarāṭ smṛtam
nirhrāso yaśca vṛddhiśca grāmamāsādya somavat
tasmādasya svarasyāpi dhaivatatvam vidhīyate
niṣīdanti svarā yasmānniṣādastena hetunā
sarvāmścābhibhavatyeṣa yadāditya' sya daivatamiti
Nāradīya Śikṣā, 1, 5, 12–18

The deity for madhyama is missing from the text Bhaṭṭa Śobhokara in his ṭīkā interprets the passage as recounting Āditya for both dhaivata and niṣāda This, we think, is misconstrued Dhaivata has been bracketed with pancama, not niṣāda Like pañcama, dhaivata was the only other note which underwent an increase and decrease in measure in the two ancient grāmas Nānyadeva in this context clearly says *'somavad vṛddhimāpanno dhaivatah somadaivatah'* *Bharatabhāṣya*, 3, 17

31 *ṣadjasya daivatam brahmā ṛṣabho vahnidaivatah*
gāndhāro bhāratīdevo madhyamo haradaivatah
pañcamah śatayajñastu dhaivatc gaṇanāyakah
niṣādo bhānudevastu ityete svaradevatāh *Bṛhaddeśī* 79–81

Śārṅgadeva's list has many deities in common with this but not all *Saṅgītaratnākara* 1, 3, 57–58

32 Nānyadeva (12th century A D) has 'karbura' for niṣāda *Bharatabhāṣya* 3, 4 Śārṅgadeva has the same *Saṅgītaratnākara* 1, 3, 55 But this is not essentially different from the colour given by Nārada, since 'karbura' also means 'of a variegated colour'

and syllables of Sanskrit speech [33] The concept of such attributes had evidently, arisen out of a perception of affinity or identity felt at an intuitive, psychic plane

In later ages enumerating these extra-musical attributes of svaras became a part of the mythical lore that grew around music But this lore appears to have survived as a pious convention alone and not in spirit Yet we can, to some degree, still sense the genuine core of psychic intuition that lay at the root of this convention, because we still have a 'feel' for qualities in music which are somewhat analogous in nature We still feel that different rāgas have an inner affinity with different hours of the day and with different seasons of the year (at least we do so in the Hindustāni tradition) A morning rāga sung in the evening offends our sensibilities, the rāga malhār invariably reminds us of rains

The later medieval phenomenon of picturing rāgas as elaborate deities—of which we find the first evidence in the 14th century,[34]—and as painterly images in the later rāga-mālā paintings, too, can certainly be traced to the early concept of assigning a deity and a colour to every svara

The *Ṭhānamga* does not list the kind of extramusical svara-attributes that other ancient texts do It, however, speaks of another it identifies each svara with the call of a specific bird or animal This, too, was a generally held notion and the *Ṭhānamga* enumeration has its counterpart in the *Nāradīya Śikṣā* and other texts, both early and relatively modern The language in which the descriptions are couched suggest that the relation in this case was considered to be an actual physical one the peacock is said to intone the note saḍja,[35] the sheep bleat out the madhyama, the kokila actually sings in the pañcama and so forth

The implications are intriguing Did the ancients really recognise the svaras of their octave in the cries of certain birds and animals? The expressions in the texts do seem to suggest so, yet there are certain difficulties in accepting this as a fact Let us consider them

33 *Yājñavalkya Śikṣā* 86–92 We refer to the edition published in the Banaras Sanskrit Series, by Griffith and Thibaut, Banaras 1891

34 The earliest rāga-dhyānas are found in the *Sangītopaniṣatsāroddhāra* of Sudhakalaśa (1350 A D)—see ch 3 verses 72 to 111 The trend may have begun a century earlier

35 Note Kallinātha's comments on *Sangītaratnākara* a 1, 3, 46-47 *'lokato' pi ṣadjādisvaruparijaānāya mayūrādiprāṇiñesadhvisanim nidarśanābhiprāyeṇāha-mayūreti"*

To picture an actual correspondence one may postulate that the ancients had standardised the pitches for different notes just as one finds in modern Western music[36] Tuning forks are used in the West to provide conventionally fixed pitches Cries of birds and animals, we may imagine, similarly acted as live tuning forks for the ancients; so that if one wanted to arrive at the standard pitch of the ṣadja, one only had to listen to the wail-like cry of the peacock Other notes could similarly be arrived at But this picture, though appealing, cannot hold ground for a number of reasons

Firstly, there is the difficulty of variant traditions Different accounts equate the svaras with the cries of quite different birds or animals The enumeration in the, *Nāradyīā Śikṣā* sharply diverges from the one in *Thānamga* Ṛṣabha in the *Ṭhānaṁga* account is the cry of the cock but the *Nāradīya Śiksā* names the cow, gāndhāra according to the *Śikṣā* corresponds to the bleating of sheep or goats (ajāvika) but *Thānamga* equates it with the call of the swan and according to this text the sheep (meṣa) bleat in the note madhyama, not gāndhāra The *Śiksā* equates dhaivata and niṣāda with the calls of horses and elephants respectively[37] but *Thānamga* in these cases names the sārasa and the krauñca One contradiction especially stands out the krañuca bird according to the *Śiksā* calls in the madhyama but according to the *Thānamga* the krauñca calls in the niṣāda, a note half an octave away from madhyama Later texts report other traditions Matanga, quoting Kohala,[38] equates ṛṣabha with the call of the cātaka bird and dhaivata with the croaking of the monsoon frogs[39] The rest of his list is as in the *Nāradīya Śikṣā*

Still, we find two constants all known traditions equate ṣaḍja with the peacock's call and pañcama with the cooing of the Kokila

36, We wust not forget that the evidence from *Dattilam* seems to battle against this assumption Dattila says that any sound whatever could be taken as the ṣaḍja and other notes followed through a fixed ratio of tonal relations, *Dattilam* 12 It might, however, be argued that by the time of *Dattilam* the older tradition was already lost

37 *Ṣadjam vadati mayūro gāvo rambhanti cārṣabham*
ājāvike tu gāndhārah krauñco vadati madhyamam
puṣpasādhārane kāle kokilā vakti pañcanām
aśvastu dhaivatam vakti niṣādo vakti kuñjarah
Nāradīya Śikṣā, 1, 5, 3-4

38 There is a confusion in the text on this point The text quotes the passage with the words *'tathā cāha kohalah mahesvarah'* Kohala was a well-known ancient authority, the word mahesvara is out of place and seems to have been inserted by an inadvertent scribe

39 *Bṛhaddeśī, vṛtti* on verse 62 The same tradition is given by Sārṅgadeva *Sangītaratnākara* 1, 3, 46-47

These two equations had become almost axiomatic Kālidāsa, thus, speaks of the '*sadjasamvādinīh kekāh*' ('the peacock's call, harmonious with the ṣaḍja') while the pañcama of the kokila was almost a by-word, as it still is With these notes as our axis-sounds, notes which, had an accoustically harmonic relaticn with each other in the ancient ṣadja-grāma—we can, in principle, arrive at the other notes But again there is a difficulty None of these two birds produce sounds that are themselves constant, meaning that the birds do not produce single sounds The peacocks call is distributed over a range of at least two tones and the kokila makes a whole melodic movement consisting of a large cluster of notes How is one to pick out ṣadja and pañcama from this range of pitches?[40]

The *Thānamga* account makes another classification on this point which is relevant to our discussion It equates the svaras not only with the calls of birds and animals but also with sounds produced by what it terms as 'non-living objects', these being, in this instastce, musical instruments An equation of this kind is not found in any non-Jain text [41]

Ṣaḍja, the *Thānamga* says, is produced by the mrdanga, rsabha by the gomukha and so forth The instruments named are of the percussion or the horn group—instruments that have a relatively limited range of tones—and yet none of them are instruments that sound at a constant pitch [42] They could not have acted as tuning forks They must, moreover, have come in different shapes and sizes & consequently they must have had different ranges of pitch It is difficult to imagine of any specific instrument inherently producing only one definite svara

We can only conclude that in all probability the relation between svaras and the sounds of birds, animals as well as musical instruments was also conceived on a psychic rather than a physical plane This may also account for the difference we find in the traditional lists of birds and animals, since such flexibility is quite conceivable in matters perceived on a supra-sensory plane, without

40 It must here be added in good faith that a ascoustie study of the ratios between the sounds made by the various animals listed in ancient texts might, perhaps, provide a clue as to the pitch-positions and tonal relatious of ancient svaras,

41 Sudhākalasa, a Jain author of the 14th cen ury, makes a similar classification of notes into jīva, and ajīva categories '*sacetenakṛtāh ke' pi kecinniścetanodbhavāh*, *Sangitopaniṣadsāroddhāra* 1, 10 This classification was, evidently, borrowed from the *Ṭhānamga*

42 Bharata indeed speaks of tuning them see *Nāṭyaśāstra* 34, 217, notice especially the expression '*śithillāñcitavadhrastaniteṣu yathāgrāmarāgamārjanaliptesu mṛdaṅgesu* '

detracting from the value of the perception itself We can, for instance, validly question if a particular rāga should indeed be called a 'morning' rāga rather than an 'evening' rāga, without questioning the principle of assigning such affinities [43]

V

Music had developed into a consciously cultivated art at an early period As a corollary it had also acquired a significant body of critical terminology The early history of music-criticism, as of the theoretical scheme of musical forms and structures, is obscure Already in the *Nāradīya Śiksā*, critical criteria for evaluating music acquire an organised plan and vocabulary The *Śikṣā* classifies and lists the gunas (merits) and dosas (faults) of performances much in the same way as the early Ālamkārikas classified the gunas and dosas of poetry

The *Thānamga* enumerates eight merits and six faults It gives us just a string of critical terms without explaining them However, in many cases the terms are almost self-explanatory, though, of course, we cannot recapture the nuances they must have possessed in a living musical milieu

The *Nāradīya Śikṣā* lists ten gunas and fourteen doṣas It also has short prose passages defining and explaning the gunas [44] Most terms in the guna-enumeration are common with the *Ṭhānamga* list—six to be exact—though there is a difference in the number of terms [45] But the doṣa-lists in the two texts have a great divergence [46]

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* devotes a large section to the examination of gunas and doṣas in music (ch 33) Merits and demerits of singing and instrumental playing are presented in the perspective of ancient theatre

43 Lively controversies occur ammong musicians regarding the 'morning or 'evening' properties of many rāgas, especially newly composed ones

44 The doṣas are only listed, not expounded The *Śiksā* as we have it has some textual lacunae and irregularities The original text might have contained expositions of the doṣas, too *Nāradīya Śikṣā*, 1, 3 1–13,

45 The *Śikṣā* list is *gānasya tu dasavidhaguṇavṛttistadyathā 'raktam pūrṇamalaṁkṛtaṁ prasannaṁ vyaktam, vikruṣṭam ślakṣnam samam sukumāram madhuramiti guṇāh' Nāradīya Śikṣā*, 1, 3, 1 *Ṭhāṇaṁga* does not have prasanna vikruṣṭa, ślakṣna and sukumāra. Instead it has avighuṭṭha and sulaliya

46, The *Śikṣā* lists *śaṅkitambhīta(ma)mudghuṣṭamavyaktamanunāsikam*
kākasvaram śirasi gatam tathā sthānavivarjitam
visvaram virasam caiva viśliṣṭam viṣamāhatam
vyākulam tālahīnam ca gītidoṣāścaturdaśāh
Nāradīya Śikṣā 1, 3, 11–12 Only three terms are in common with *Ṭhāṇamga* (if we read '*bhītam*' and not '*bhīmam*)' The *Ṭhānamga* has 'duyam' 'rahasam' and uttālam' which are absent from the *Śikṣā* list

where music had a major role to play The material is presented in a much more organised form than in the *Ṭhānaṁga* or the *Nāradīya Śikṣā* The delineation is, moreover, wider in scope, the merits of singers, players on different instruments and also instructors of music have been distinguished and separately treated The treatment has many critical notions in common with the *Ṭhānmga* and the *Nāradīya Śiksā* These must have part of the general milieu But textual resemblances are superficial The tenor of Bharata's text is quite different in mode and exposition

Apart from a list of gunas and doṣas, the *Ṭhānaṁga* also contains certain observations regarding the principles governing the forms and the aesthetics of ancient music, especially song These observations are not found elsewhere—at least not in the same form--and are worthy of consideration

The *Ṭhānaṁga* speaks of three 'āgāras' of songs—a notion unique to *Ṭhānaṁga* Songs it says, begin softly, they are sustained in the middle and end with a fury The description, inspite of being laconic, is quite suggestive It, apparently, outlines the general phases of melodic movements made in ancient renderings of song The suggested formal contours remind us of our own classical singing which usually beg ns at a slow-soft pace and gathering momentum as well as melodic wealth ends with a fast turbulent movement

After listing gunas and doṣas, the *Thānaṁga* sums up the qualities expected of a good song in a few pithy phrases Such aphoristic passages were, no doubt, intended to serve as memorisable guide lines for aspiring musicians as well as discerning listners

Another such aphoristic passage occurs at the end of the *Thānmaga* account and states a maxim in a nutshell, namely, that synchronisation or harmony (*samatva*) must pervade a song in all its parts Especially interesting here is the notion of synchronised breathing The advice—stated earlier in the text--that the breath should be equal in measure to a single metric foot is, evindently, a related idea A metric foot usually marks a break or pause in the syntax of a poem, singers are, therefore, asked to regulate their breathing in such a manner that a pause in their singing should coincide with that in the sung text

Such a notion of pause recalls the concept of vidārī (musical pause) as defined by Bharata in relation to theatric songs (*dhruvā*) Bharata lays down the rule that in singing songs during dramatic

performances a vidārī should be made to coincide with the consummation of a sentence or a clause[47]

There is a tantalising, though cryptic, remark in the *Ṭhānamga* about the essential nature of song or the source of the impulse to sing. The remark is evocative of certain well-known and penetrating reflections on the origin of the poetic impulse Songs, the text says, are '*ṛudita-yoni*' they are of the nature of a lament or have their source in a lament We are reminded of Shelley's famous line 'Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought' The remark also brings to mind Bhavabhūti's celebrated statement that all poetry expresses but one sentiment, the karuna—pathetic—others are nothing but karuna in different garbs[48] Similar in spirit is the poignant story of how Vālmīki the ādikavi (the primeval poet) composed the world's very first stanza of poetic verse at being deeply moved by the sorrow of a krauñca bird wailing for its dying mate.

It is remarkable that most of the critical notions we find recorded in the *Thānamga* (and other ancient texts) are still pertinent to our music making today Indeed, many ancient expressions can be discovered in current vernacular musical vacabulary, they are a living testimony to certain essential continuities of our art No doubt, many of the notions are truisms and apply to all music, but a significant number of them are specific to the musical culture as developed in India

VI

The *Thānaṁga* text on music contains quite a motley collection of material within its small radius It also records some interesting oddities of musical lore

A longish passage expounds what the text terms svara-lakṣanas The contention of the pasage may be explained as an extended application of the principles of palmistry The passage correlates the fortunes and the disposition of a person with his specific 'svara'

Similar divinations were part of the ancient science of *anga-vidyā*, according to which any characteristic physical trait of a person could be a 'sign' *(laksana)* or indication of his fortunes Every man

47 '*padavarnasamāptistu vidarītyabhisamjñitā*' *Nāṭyaśāstra* 32, 17 Abhinava clavrifies '*avāntaravākyasamaptau sthāyyādivarnasyāpanyāsena nyāsena vā samaptirvādirī*' It should be rememhered that vidārī was intimately rela ed to the meaning of a poe只 only in certain types of songs, it could a'so relate to melodic content alone

48. '*eko rasah karuna eva nimittabhedādhinnah*
pṛthag pṛthagivāśrayate vivartān

has a vocal chord which is as distinctive as the lines of his palm Voice can thus form the basis of prognostication and it was part of the business of *angavidyā* to 'read' voices

Not much literature on *angavidyā* survives, though it must have been a very popular *vidyā* We have fortunately one major ancient text in Jain Prakrit on the subject, entitled *Angavijjā* The work is classed by Jains as a canonical text of the *paīnna (prakīrnaka)* group and is assigned to the 4th century A D [49] The 37th chapter of this work speaks of lakṣanas (the chapter is called *Lakṣanādhyāya)* A laksana in this context meant the physical trait of a person such as complexion *(vaṇna)* gait *(gati)* and the like Svara is recounted as one of the laksanas The word 'svara' here is used in the sense of 'a sweet pleasant voice' and not to signify musical tones Persons who possess svara—or in other words people with pleasant voices—are according to *Angavijjā*, the lucky ones, they attain to great power *(issariya)* or a like stature *(issariyasamāna)*, they acquire proficiency in speech *(gahiyavakkam)* and in the sciences and become well-known and far-famed Those devoid of svara are misfortunate in these respects [50]

The svara-laksanas recorded in the *Ṭhānamga* are much more specific Here the word 'svara' denotes a particular musical tone People with different svaras have different fortunes And unlike the *Angavijjā* account, possessing 'svara' is not by itself considered beneficial, much depends on which svara one has dhaivata and niṣāda are certainly not the right notes to have But how is one to know the svara of a person ? No criteria are given Perhaps, this, too, was a matter of psychic vision Some occultists believe that every person emanates an aura of a specific colour The svara of a person was, perhaps, similarly envisaged

Another curious passage occurs among the remarks on musical aesthetics The musical propensities of women are related to their looks and physical make-up The basic criterion is simple beautiful women sing beautifully, ugly ones make poor singers The attitude reflects the ancient adage—'*yatrākṛtirtatra gunāh*' ('excellence is where beauty is)

Women who are classed as *syāmā*—a type universally lauded in ancient times—are described as the most excellent singers Bharata, too,

49 See Dr Motichandra's introduction to *Aṅgavijjā* (p 35, text published by the Prakrit Text Society, Banaras 1957

50 '*sarasampanne issariyam issariyasamāṇam kittijasasampannam ca gahiyavakkam vijjābhāgī ya sarasampanne bhavati, sarahīne etesim vivatti* *Aṅgavijjā*, ch 37 (p 174)

in a similar context, has a good word to say about women of the *śyāmā* type[51] Abhinava, by way of explanation, comments that only a *śyāmā* could stand up to the rigours of musical training[52] Bharata, however, refrains from going into details about types of women' and their capabilities as musicians He makes a general statement that in dramatic performances songs are often sweeter if sung by women since women have a naturally melodious voice, recitative prose passages, he says, are more effectively spoken by men because of their vigorous voices[53]

VII

We have said that the *Ṭhānaṁga* account of music is a kind of digest It contains material compiled from various sources As in Purānic compilations of this nature, sources are not mentioned

Tracing such material to its source can become mostly an exercize in futility because little from ancient times survives

But we have noted one remarkable parallel with the *Nāradīya Śikṣā* where there is an almost word to word correspondence This is no doubt a significant clue, but to presume a direct borrowing either way could be misleading Musical lore like other ancient lore seems to have had a body of material traditionally handed down It formed a kind of common pool from which all writers on the subject could draw The passage which occurs both in the *Nāradīya Śikṣā* and the *Thānamga* may have been part of this common heritage Many early *Śikṣā* works likewise share certain passages in common and the question who borrowed from whom is quite misplaced in such cases

A fruitful conjecture might yet have been possible if one could be sure of the relative chronology of the *Thānamga* and the *Nāradīya Śiksā* But this, too, is uncertain ground and we are left with no threads to follow

In truth, analysis shows that there are more textual divergences than similarities between the *Thānamga* and the *Nāradīya Śiksā* We can even go further and say that there are certain elements in the

51 *'suvihitagamakavidhāyinyo'ksobhyātālalyakuśālāh* a *atodyarpitakāränā vijñeyā gāyikāh śyamah Nāṭyaśāstra 33, 34*

52 *'syāmā iti tarunyaḥ tadvarnā eva kleśasahatvāt'* Abhinava on above

53 *prāyena tu svabhāvāt strīnām gānam nṛnām ca pāṭhyavidhih, strīṇām svabhavamadhuraḥ kaṇṭho nṛṇām balitvam ca Nāṭyaśātra 33, 5*

Ṭhānamga account which are either absent from or at significant variance with the material available not only in the *Nāradīya Śikṣā* but also the Purānas, and later musical texts which rely, in many matters, on earlier works It seems that the compiler of the Ṭhānamga section on music had borrowed much material from a school of musical theorists with a distinct stance and vocabulary on certain moot points

APPENDIX

THĀNAṀGA TEXT ON MUSIC

(Major variant readings are given from the Anuôgaddāra text published in a critical edition by Sri Mahavira Jain Vidyalaya, Bombay)

सत्त सरा पण्णत्ता, त जहा—

सज्जे रिसहे गधारे मज्झिमे पचमे सरे ।
धेवए चेव निस्साए सरा सत्त वियाहिया ॥1॥

एएसि ण सत्तण्ह सराण सत्त सरट्ठाणा पण्णात्ता, त जहा—

सज्ज च अग्गजीहाए उरेण रिसए सर ।
कठुग्गएण गधार मज्झजीहाए मज्झिम ॥2॥

नासाए पचम बूया दतोट्ठेण य धेवय ।
मुद्धाणेण[1] य णेसाय सरट्ठाणा वियाहिया ॥3॥

सत्तसरा जीवणिस्सिया पण्णत्ता, त जहा—

सज्ज रवइ मऊरो कुक्कुडो रिसए सर ।
हसो णदइ[2] गधार मज्झिम च गवेलगा ॥4॥

अह कुसुमसभवे काले कोइला पचम सर ।
छट्ठ च सरसा कोचा नेसाय सत्तम गया ॥5॥

सत्तसरा अजीवणिस्सिया पण्णत्ता, त जहा—

सज्ज रवइ मुयगो गोमुही रिसह सर ।
सखो णदइ[3] गधार मज्झिम पुण झल्लरी ॥6॥

चउचलण पइट्ठाणा गोहिया पचम सर ।
आडम्बरो धेवइय महाभेरी य सत्तम ॥7॥

1 भमुहवक्खेवेण ।
2 रवइ ।
3 रवइ ।

एएसि ण सत्तण्ह सराण सत्त सरलक्खणा पण्णत्ता, त जहा—

सज्जेण लहई वित्ति कय च न विणस्सइ ।
गावो पुत्ता य मित्ता य नारीण होइ वल्लहो ।।8।।

रिसहेण य एसज्ज सेणावच्च धणाणि य ।
वत्थ गधमलकार इत्थिओ सयणाणि य ।।9।।

गधारे गीयजुत्तिण्णा वज्जवित्ती कलाहिया ।
हवति कइणो पण्णा जे अण्णे सत्थपारगा ।।10।।

मज्झिमस्सरसपन्ना भवति[4] सुहजीविणो ।
खायई पियई देई मज्झिमस्सरमस्सिओ ।।11।।

पचमस्सरसपन्ना हवति पुढवीवई ।
सूरा सगहकत्तारो अरोगगणनायगा[5] ।।12।।

धेवयस्सरमपन्ना[6] हवति कलहप्पिया ।
साउणिया वग्गुरिया सोयरिया मच्छबधा य ।।13।।

चडाला मुट्ठिया सेया[7] जे अण्णे पावकम्मिणो ।
गोघातगा य जे चोरा णिसाय सरमस्सिया ।।14।।

एएसि ण सत्तण्ह तओ गामा पण्णत्ता, त जहा—सज्जगामे मज्झिमगामे गधारगामे
सज्जगामस्स ण सत्त मुच्छणाओ पण्णताओ, त जहा—

मगी कोरवीया हरी य रयणी च सारकता य ।
छट्ठी य सारसी नाम सुद्धसज्जा य सत्तमा ।।15।।

मज्झिमगामस्स ण सत्त मुच्छणाओ पण्णत्ताओ त जहा—

उत्तरमदा रयणी उत्तरा उत्तरासमा[8] ।
समोकता य सोवीरा अवभीरु[9] हवइ सत्तमा ।।16।।

गधारगामस्स ण सत्त मुच्छणाओ पण्णत्ताओ, त जहा—

नदी य खुड्डिया पूरिमा च चउत्थी च सुद्धगधारा ।
उत्तरगधारा वि य पचमिया हवइ मुच्छा उ ।।17।।

4 हवति ।

5 अरोगणरणायगा ।

6 धेवयसरमता ।

7. सेता ।

8 उत्तरायता ।

9 अभीरू ।

सुद्ध्रुत्तरमायामा सा छट्टी नियमसो उणायव्वा ।
अह उत्तरायया कोडिमा य सा सत्तमी मुच्छा ॥18॥

सत्तसरा कओ सभवंति गीयस्स का हवति जोणी ।
कइ समया उस्सासा कइ वा गीयस्स आगारा ॥19॥

सत्तसरा नाभिओ हवति, गीय च रुइयजोणिय[10] ।
पायसमा ऊसामा, तिण्णि य गीयस्स आगारा ॥20॥

आइमिउ आरभता समुव्वहता या मज्झगारमि ।
अवसाणे तज्जवितो[11] तिन्नि य गीयस्स आगारा ॥21॥

छद्दोसे अट्ठगुणे तिण्णि य वित्ताइ दो य भणिईओ ।
जाणाहिइ सो गाहिइ सुसिक्खिओ रगमज्झम्मि ॥22॥

भीय दुय रहस्स[12] गायतो माय गाहि उत्ताल[13] ।
काकस्सर अणुणास च होति गीयस्म छद्दोसा[14] ॥23॥

पुण्ण रत्त च अलविय च वत्त तहा अविघुट्ठ ।
महुर सम सुललिय अट्ठगुणा होति गेयस्म ॥24॥

सरकठसिरपसत्थ[15] गिज्जइ मउरिभियपदवद्ध ।
समतालपडुक्खेव सत्तस्सरसीभर गीय ॥25॥

निद्दोस सारमत च हेउजुत्तमलेकिय ।
उवणीय सोवयार य मिय महुरमेव य ॥26॥

सम अद्धसम चेव सवत्थ विमम च ज ।
तिण्णि वित्तप्पयाराइ चउत्थ नोवलब्भइ ॥27॥

सक्कया पायया चेंव दुहा भणिईओ आहिया ।
सरमडलम्मि गिज्जते पमत्था इसिभासिया ॥28॥

केसि गायइ महुर केमि गायइ खर च रुक्ख च ।
केसि गायइ चउर केसी य विलविय दुत केसी ॥29॥

10 रुन्नजोणीय ।
11 अवसाणे य झवेंता ।
12 दुयमुप्पिच्छ ।
13 उत्ताल च कमसो मुणयव्व ।
14 छद्दोसा होति गीयस्म ।
15 विसुद्ध ।

विस्सर पुण केरिमी ।।

सामा गायइ महुर काली गायइ खर च रुक्ख च ।
गौरी गायइ चउरं काणा विलव दुत च अधा ।।30।।

विस्सर पुण पिंगला ।

ततिसम[16] तालसम पायसम लयसम गहसम च ।
नीससिऊससियसम सचारसम सरा सत्त[17] ।।31।।

सत्तसरा तओ गामा मुच्छणा एकवीसई ।
ताणा एगूणपण्णास सम्मत सरमडल ।।32।।

इह सरमडल समत्त[18] ।

16 अक्खरसम ।

17 In *Anugòddāra* this verse comes after verse 25 above.

18 *Anuŏgaddāra* ends with से त सत्तनामे ।